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Russians March and Bombs Fall

Two great military events dominated the week ending March 13—the continued magnificent advance of the Russians and the mass bombing of Germany, of which the main purposes were to wipe out Berlin and to deplete the German air force until Allied mastery of the skies should be unquestioned. Despite an unprecedented thaw in Russia which turned roads into quagmires and greatly benefited defense as against attack, the Russians thrust ahead on several fronts. In the south, they crossed the Bug River at more than one point and were only a few miles from the Bessarabian border. Further north, they were less than a hundred miles from Czecho-Slovakia, and the Czech Government-in-Exile issued orders for the first time that Czech patriots should form guerrilla bands, take to the woods and harass the Germans in every possible way.

The all-out aerial offensive against Germany was only three weeks old, yet it seemed to be showing substantial results. On three successive raids over Berlin the losses of the American air force were reduced amazingly, suggesting either that the Germans were running out of fighter planes or that they were hoarding them against the day of invasion. The OWI has asked the American press not to speculate on the time when the forces in England will cross the Channel; but as preparations mounted, such speculation seemed inevitable. Meanwhile, commanders of the air forces said they still needed three months longer to reduce Germany. At the end of that time, they declared, invasion could be accomplished with a great saving of life.

The first important victory in Burma was scored when Anglo-American-Indian forces trapped several thousand Japanese in northwest Burma in the Hukawng Valley. The victory brought nearer the time when the new "Burma Road" from India can be driven through to a connection with the old one at a point in Chinese-controlled territory. General Stilwell and Admiral Lord Mountbatten are now said to be in agreement about the importance of getting a land route into China at the earliest possible moment. However, for whatever reason, there has been too much delay; the monsoon season will soon begin, and military operations will be at a standstill until next autumn.

Spies in Eire

People in the democracies which are at war find it difficult to understand the attitude of the European neutrals. To the former this seems like a war for civilization itself, and they are puzzled by the desperate anxiety of Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Portugal and Eire to stay out. If Americans would think back to the attitude large numbers of them displayed before Pearl Harbor, when this was just as much a war for civilized principles as it is now, and was going even more badly, they might be able to understand. Particularly hard to forgive, however, is the attitude of the Irish government, which shares so completely in Anglo-Saxon culture and would certainly have been overrun and destroyed by the Germans long ago if it were not for the defensive struggle of the British. In part, Eire's attitude is probably dictated by the Catholic Church, which dominates the country and has been trying to remain neutral in the conflict, though most of the predominantly Catholic countries have leaned toward the Axis.

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In part, the Irish are influenced by their centuries of hatred for the British, a hatred which caused them to attempt to rebel in the middle of the First World War. We should remember that many thousands of Irish citizens are wholeheartedly pro-Ally and thousands are serving with distinction in the British armed forces.

On the eve of invasion, the British and Americans have demanded that Eire shall send home the German and Japanese spies who take advantage of their diplomatic status in Dublin. The Eire government has refused, as it was expected to do. Presumably the Allies will now bring drastic economic pressure to bear against the Irish until they give in. The Anglo-American request on its face seems reasonable. Eire need not go to war with the Axis to comply, or even break relations. It is reasonable to believe that removing the spies may save many thousands of British and American soldiers and sailors. We hope Britain and America will not be swayed by considerations of internal politics but will keep the pressure on Eire until she gives in.

The Plea of the Pope

The plea of the Pope that both belligerents should spare Rome must have been heard with respect and pity throughout the civilized world. It is a matter for deep regret that the course of the war has necessarily made a battleground out of Italy, the home of so many magnificent cultural monuments. We see no evidence that the Allied commanders are careless or indifferent about these monuments; on the contrary, in the case of the former monastery on Mount Cassino, they waited too long and sacrificed at least 750 lives out of deference to Catholics and to others who regret the destruction of ancient monuments. If the Germans would agree to make Rome an open city, and could be trusted to live up to their word, we are confident that the Allies would be happy to accede. But unluckily, the word of the Germans is absolutely worthless. Individually and collectively the Nazis break faith without compunction for any immediate advantage they may gain.

What the Pope seems to overlook is that if the Nazis win, the Catholic Church will be destroyed throughout the world, along with the rest of Western civilization. His Holiness is trying to be neutral in a war of which he will be one of the chief beneficiaries if the United Nations win. If we must choose, as apparently we must, between the civilization of the dead past and the preservation of our own civilization of today, there can be but one answer.

Official Stupidity in Canada

An American girl, traveling from New York to Ann Arbor, Michigan, in a berth which she had bought and paid for on a New York Central train, was awakened in the middle of the night at Buffalo and forced to dress and leave the train. She was then compelled to take another train, change three times and arrive in Ann Arbor seven hours late. The person who forced her to do all this was a Canadian Immigration Officer, and his reason was that this girl, though an American citizen, was born in Hawaii of Chinese parents. According to the magazine, Asia and the Americas, this piece of startling governmental stupidity and brutality occurs over and over; no American citizen who looks like a Chinese, we are told, is allowed to pass through Canadian territory on an American train even though the points of departure and arrival are in the United States. Canada has a good record in this war; and it is a little startling to find her deliberately going out of the way to insult and humiliate citizens of an Allied country, the United States. For that matter, the case against her would be just as serious if the victim happened to be a citizen of China, which is also an ally.

To Prevent Soldiers' Voting

The soldiers'-vote bill which finally reached the floor of Congress was even worse than it promised to be as the conference committee neared the end of its negotiations. The bill would make voting so cumbrous and complicated that very few soldiers would bother with it or would get their votes counted even if they did. We don't know anything that needs to be said on this subject that has not been said dozens of times already. We hope the President will veto the bill on the ground that it is even worse than the existing situation. If he should run for a fourth term, the Republicans have handed him a ready-made issue of the greatest value.

Incidentally, Gov. Tom Dewey emerges from the struggle with his reputation for political astuteness somewhat marred. He waited until the fighting was all over, and then came out on the wrong side. Even those who wanted to agree with him had to admit that his suggestions were quite hopeless.

Keep the Polls Open

Now that labor and progressives are beginning to get their teeth into a political-action program, they are paying more attention to an important bill which Sen. Scott Lucas of Illinois introduced more than eight months ago, S.1089, requiring that the polls be kept open from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M. on election day throughout the United States.

Under present laws, the time for opening and closing the polls varies greatly from state to state and even from place to place within states. So few states have laws adequate to wartime that there is mounting sentiment for a uniform provision which would cover the millions of war workers whose hours of work or work locations would prevent them from voting under the present system. Farmers, housewives and white-collar workers who are putting in longer hours these days, also need the vote insurance the Lucas bill would give.

Electoral experts now estimate that the number of our citizens who usually vote but who may be left

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voteless this year unless our election laws are adjusted to wartime conditions may be as large as 15,000,000. "States'-rights" soldiers'-vote laws, absentee-voting provisions and the poll tax still stand as major barriers to a representative election this year. The Lucas bill to keep the polls open for those outside these barriers is a practical next issue to fight for with full force.

McKellar and the Riders

Sen. Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee is probably the most accomplished user of the rider as a method for obstructing legislation in the Senate. He can also hold a grudge longer than most men, in the Senate or out. In recent years, McKellar's pet hate has been the Tennessee Valley Authority, ever since the TVA refused to allow him special patronage favors he wanted, and he has now begun his annual attempt to wreck it with a series of riders to the pending Independent Offices Appropriations bill. As chairman of the Appropriations Committee, McKellar also has to allow other members the same rider privileges he takes for himself. The resulting bill is a shambles. It contains:

First, the perennial McKellar patronage rider, requiring Senate confirmation of all government jobs paying more than $4,500 per year (about 27,000 of them).

Second, McKellar's perennial rider requiring the TVA to turn all its receipts into the Treasury and operate only on direct appropriations from Congress. (Chairman Lilienthal and other TVA experts have repeatedly explained why such procedure is incompatible with successful operations.)

And third, probably in imitation of the McKellar technique, a rider sponsored by Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, forbidding use of funds after July 1 for any government agency established by executive order more than a year ago and not subsequently provided for by Congress. (The real target is the Fair Employment Practice Committee, which is not popular with some of Senator Russell's Georgia backers.) No Senator who honestly faces up to the implications of this bill can vote to support it.

International Economic Collaboration

Senators Elbert Thomas of Utah, Kilgore of West Virginia and Truman of Missouri have introduced a Joint Resolution in the Senate which may mark our next step forward on postwar foreign policy. The resolution of the three Senators calls on the President to take the initiative in calling a United Nations conference to talk over ways of developing world resources and the kind of international machinery necessary for the job. Thomas, Kilgore and Truman further propose a Foreign Economic Commission to provide the President and Congress with information and recommendations, the Commission to be composed of representatives from both the legislative and the executive branches of the government plus twelve public members to be appointed by the President from agriculture, labor, industry and the consuming public.

The resolution was favorably received by the Senate, and the standing of its three sponsors should guarantee it reasonably prompt consideration. Its counterpart is being offered by several members of the House. We hope that the Senate Joint Resolution will be passed promptly, so that the important research for which it provides can be got under way.

A Trial Balloon in Tennessee

A move is on in Tennessee for organization of a coalition of Republicans and anti-Roosevelt Democrats for the presidential, congressional and state elections this year. A good many politicians are taking this move seriously, considering it a trial balloon which if floated successfully in Tennessee might be used as a pattern in other states.

Republican Rep. B. Carroll Reece made the first public admission of this plan at the Lincoln Day dinner in Nashville when in various conversations he mentioned former Sen. George L. Berry as a possible candidate for Governor on such a coalition ticket. Political reporters commented on the number of outstanding Tennessee business men who were present at the Republican Lincoln Day affair and participated in a quiet reorganization of the Republican state machine. The Nashville Tennesseean speculated: "It may be presumed that the plans are part of the Republican strategy for a national-scale effort, and that similar secretive work has been in progress in other states."

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Inside Germany

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Danger in the Near East

TWO SUBJECTS both of which have been important in the news for some time suddenly coalesced into one a few days ago. In this case the whole is greater than its parts, and is ominous indeed in its implications. The two subjects are the proposed congressional resolutions recommending Palestine as a home for the Jews, and the oil pipeline which the government is planning to build across Saudi Arabia for the benefit of three American oil companies.

For some time, resolutions have been pending before both Houses of Congress urging that Palestine should not be closed to Jewish immigration. These resolutions might be considered a piece of gratuitous advice to the British government (which has itself been leaning in the direction of the Jews recently), but luckily, the British are now accustomed to the American habit of giving gratuitous advice in all quarters of the globe and on all occasions. Actually these resolutions did no more than repeat the expression of the United States Congress in 1922. They indicated an interest on the part of the United States which is hardly surprising in view of the fact that this country contains the most important group of Jewish citizens to be found anywhere in the world and that many millions of dollars of American money have already been invested in Jewish enterprises in Palestine.

Suddenly, long after these resolutions were first introduced, there came a barrage of criticism from the Near East. Mustafa Nahas Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, sent a letter of protest to the American Minister. The Iraq, Syrian, Lebanon and Saudi Arabian governments are also reported to have protested in various ways. These almost simultaneous protests from widely separated quarters would suggest either that the whole Arab world was in ferment over the proposed congressional resolutions or that somebody was engaged in a propaganda stunt.

More serious, however, was the next development. Secretary Stimson and General Marshall let it be known in various ways that the American War Department objects to adoption of the resolutions. They fear, it is reported, that if Congress takes this step the Arab disapproval will be so strong that it may interfere with the successful progress of the war.

Are the fears of the War Department well founded? As to this, several points may be noted. The first is that military men are the most conservative people on earth. In their larger operations they never take a chance if it can possibly be avoided. In reality, the chance that the resolution before Congress would bring about serious Arab unrest is minute. The Arabs know the United Nations are going to win the war and, like all the neutrals, they want to side with the winner. They know, moreover, that Great Britain will determine Palestine's future, that American opinion will have hardly anything to do with it, and that a congressional resolution does little to change that opinion.

It seems perfectly clear that the War Department's opposition is in connection, not with Arabian opinion in general but with the oil pipeline in particular. We are wooing King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia in every possible way, since his land will be traversed and his subjects must do most of the construction job. Without doubt it is to keep him pacified that the War Department took this extraordinary plunge into national and international politics.

How far can its move be considered wise and proper? In part, the answer depends upon what is to be the fate of the Jews in Hitler-Europe. As our readers know, for the first time the United States Government is now making a genuine effort to get as many Jews as possible out of Europe, where they face extermination at Hitler's hands. We have created a War Refugee Board, headed by a brilliant young administrator, John W. Pehle. This board is placing key men in all the neutral countries of Europe prepared to help the refugees in every possible way. With public and private money they will be fed, clothed and rehabilitated, and if there are already too many refugees in one area they will be removed elsewhere to make room for the newcomers. At the same time the American government is pointing out firmly to Hitler's satellites that they are certain to lose the war, and that unless they help us now to take out the Jews and other refugees, they will be severely punished when the conflict is over.

It would be a tragic misfortune if the political activities of the American War Department helped to close the doors of Palestine against the refugees. We agree with The New York Post that it would be well to modify the resolutions now pending in Congress so that they would ask only for a temporary refuge for men, women and children whose alternative is death, letting the long-term aspects wait. We do not see how even the Arabs or the War Department can legitimately object to this action.

Returning to the pipeline, there are some questions that must be asked about it. Do the military men really believe it can be constructed soon enough to be of use in the European phase of the war? Tankers going into the Persian Gulf would be the only resource in carrying oil to supply ships in the Far East. Or is the pipeline possibly intended only as a trading point with the British in the coming oil conference at Washington? All the arguments we have heard in favor of the pipeline, from the President and others, have been based upon the spurious argument that we are running out of oil at home and must turn to Arabia for our supply. This is simply not true. Nobody knows how much petroleum is still in the ground in the United States, but certainly enough for another generation. There are very large additional supplies in Canada, Mexico and South

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America. When these are all gone, we can turn, perhaps at a somewhat higher expense, to shale oil, oil-bearing sands, oil from coal, and to alcohol and petroleum made from farm products. It may still be desirable for us to get oil from the Near East; but the attempt to panic the American people with a false cry of immediate scarcity sounds suspiciously as though the men behind it have bad consciences.

And if they haven't, they ought to. Our specific plan to get oil from Arabia seems to be thoroughly unsound and unwise. The government builds the pipeline, but three American companies, Standard of California, Texas and Gulf will exclusively own the oil. No wonder the representatives of practically all other American oil companies have denounced the plan.

If there is any one principle that should be clear by now, it is that dwindling natural resources in colonial or semi-colonial areas throughout the world should not be exploited competitively by individual powers. But in the Near East, that is what we are trying to do. The United States is competing in that area with the British, the Russians and the Dutch. We don't even, as the British do, exercise a restraining influence by having heavy governmental ownership in the exploiting corporations. Still less do we invite these other powers to join us in an over-all organization which will allocate supplies to each country through agreed-upon ratios, these supplies thereafter to be distributed through public or private facilities as each country wishes. Instead, we get ourselves into competitive oil politics up to our necks, halfway round the world, without consulting either Congress or American public opinion; our oil politics drags the War Department into congressional and international politics in a most unhappy way. If there is any sensible and justifiable explanation of what is being done, The New Republic would like to know what it is.

The President and the Debt

ONE OF THE THINGS which worry many Americans is the huge size of the national debt. This worry is being used by opponents of the administration as an argument against the reëlection of Mr. Roosevelt, on the ground that he believes in continual expansion of the debt, even after the war. Specifically, this argument frequently takes the form that a leading financial adviser of the administration, Professor Alvin H. Hansen of Harvard, believes in "permanent deficit financing." In support of this allegation, nothing is more frequently cited than a widely circulated book by another leading economist, Dr. Harold G. Moulton of the Brookings Institution, "The New Philosophy of Public Debt."

Dr. Moulton's account of what Professor Hansen believes is easily recognized as inaccurate by anyone who has followed Dr. Hansen's own writings closely, and it has been convincingly refuted by Dr. Hansen himself. Writes Dr. Hansen in Finance: "In my article in Fortune, November, 1942, I said emphatically: 'There are certain conditions under which a reduction of the public debt becomes imperative.' A *continuous* expansion of the public debt, regardless of prevailing economic conditions, would be a completely irresponsible policy for any government to follow in its fiscal program."

One may charitably account for Dr. Moulton's misstatements on the ground that he was too busy to examine his own sources, and had to depend on a careless research assistant. That, indeed, is the only basis on which it would be possible charitably to account for one example, in which Dr. Moulton cites a "quotation" from a speech by Dr. Hansen in a commercial journal, although the quotation was specifically repudiated by Dr. Hansen in the same journal, immediately after its publication, and some time before the publication of Dr. Moulton's book.

What does Dr. Hansen actually believe about the public debt? "It is sound fiscal policy to control public expenditures, taxation and borrowing so as to promote economic stability at continuously high levels of production and employment. A sound fiscal program involves curtailment and restraint at some times in order to avoid inflation, and at other times it involves an expansionist program in order to prevent deflation and mass unemployment." In other words, the government should spend less than it receives in taxes when employment is high and there is danger of inflation, and more than it receives when the reverse is true. Obviously the debt can and usually should be reduced under the first of these conditions.

Dr. Moulton is at least partly in agreement with this policy, since at one point he writes: "In times of depression and readjustment, public outlays not covered by taxes may be both essential and helpful in stimulating recovery." And in prosperity, "the budget should provide a surplus with which to reduce the public debt."

Dr. Hansen further points out that an expansionist fiscal policy does not necesarily mean deficit financing. Government spending will also have a stimulating effect if it is paid for by taxation of the right kind—such as a progressively graduated income tax. Borrowing is, of course, a more powerful weapon of stimulation under some conditions.

Both men also have a measure of agreement about how dangerous a large debt is. Dr. Hansen agrees that it does contain elements of danger; Dr. Moulton, that it is less dangerous under some conditions. The real answer of both is—it depends on circumstances. Specifically, the larger is the national income, the larger the debt can be without danger. Also, a large debt embodies less danger if the bonds are distributed widely among those of small income and the institutions which

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hold their savings, and if the tax system is a progressive one. Both conditions hold today.

The apparent difference between the two views is one of emphasis. Dr. Moulton stresses fear of the size of the debt and tries to impress his readers with the necessity of reducing it. This aim he places above the use of fiscal policy to maintain high production and employment. Dr. Hansen places first the aim of stabilizing production and employment at a high level, arguing that if we do so, the national income will be large enough, and will grow rapidly enough, so that we need not be frightened by the debt. If Dr. Moulton's policy resulted in severe depression, the debt obviously would be a heavy burden, and it would be impossible to reduce it.

A controversy between two economists is not important except in scholarly circles, but misrepresentation of the national administration and the mobilizing of votes against it on false grounds is important to everyone. This we expect from politicians, but we do not expect it from responsible scientists. The New Republic is an old friend of Dr. Moulton's, and it has waited a long time to see if he would not correct his error in a way sufficiently dramatic to repair the damage it has done and is doing. So far as we know, he has not done so. We hope he will hasten to enlighten his public on the facts, and proceed to debate the real issue.

Finland on the Eve

FINLAND'S WITHDRAWAL from her ill advised struggle with the Soviet Union is no longer a question of war or peace, but a matter of time. Her slowness in replying to Moscow's reasonable armistice terms resembles more a parliamentary filibuster than diplomatic defiance. That the USSR will recede from its terms is unlikely, and the Finns know it. But by tossing the armistice question back into the Kremlin's lap, the Finnish government is gaining valuable time.

The Finns obviously realize that the Soviet demand for the internment of the German army stationed in Finland is militarily impossible without Soviet assistance. This military help from the Soviet Union the Finnish government wants to avoid under all circumstances. It would mean that Finnish soil would become an international battleground. It might also mean civil war, as a powerful, ultra-patriotic group of officers, disliking the Russians more than the Germans, might revolt against the government's decision. Hence the Finnish government is probably trying to negotiate the Germans out of the country. German evacuation would take several weeks, but if the Finns should succeed in convincing the Germans that this is the only alternative to taking action against them, they would automatically remove the most objectionable point in the Soviet armistice terms.

In addition to its effort to get rid of the Germans without undergoing Soviet occupation, the Finnish government seems to seek time to prepare public opinion for the coming peace. It must be remembered that the Finnish people have been indoctrinated for a number of years with the myth that they were fighting their own private war for the single purpose of reconquering the territory ceded to the Soviet Union in 1940. The destruction of this myth is no easy task, to judge from the first violent reaction of the Finnish press against the Soviet armistice terms, which demanded the re-establishment of the 1940 agreement and Finnish withdrawal to the 1940 boundaries. But the more moderate and sensible tone of Finnish newspapers in recent days suggests that, given time, the government may succeed in preparing public opinion for the inevitable.

Finally, time is needed to prepare changes within the Finnish government. Although the Soviet Union wisely refrained in its armistice offer from making any demands for changes in the composition of the Finnish government, it indicated in its statement on February 28 about the armistice negotiations that it had "no reason to have particular confidence in the present Finnish government." But the more rabid anti-Soviet members will undoubtedly have to leave the government sooner or later, and more conciliatory men like Karl Wiik, for many years Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party and now in prison because of his opposition to the war, may be expected to enter it. At the present time the opposition to the government's war policy is still divided on the question whether it should take over the burden of charting a new foreign policy of coöperation with the Soviet Union, or should let the present cabinet shoulder responsibility for the failure of its policy and accept the terms of defeat.

The danger of the Finnish government's delaying action lies of course in the possibility that Moscow may lose patience and prefer to settle the Finnish question by less reasonable means than those offered in the armistice terms.

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Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, ISAAC ROSENFELD

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

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Effective Democracy

IN THE CROWDED YEARS of public life, I have many times been impressed by the hold that the idea of democracy has upon Americans. They want it, want it sincerely. They also know when they are not getting it. In the struggles that I had with our home-grown dictator while I was Governor of New Jersey, I received the support, not only of the editors of the better newspapers, but also of thousands of ordinary citizens who wrote me, often in longhand, encouraging letters.

When the need for a new state constitution was explained to the people, they listened to the arguments —even in the midst of the clamor of war. When they had a chance to vote on the question, they overwhelmed the bosses, both Democratic and Republican. The faith of the mass of the people in democracy is not waning. On the contrary, it seems to me that it is stronger today than it has ever been.

The tired liberals we used to read about are not representative of the general electorate. The American people are not reactionary. When there is a real need for a change in public policy, and when the need is adequately presented to them, they are perfectly willing to make fundamental changes, even during a war. It has been my experience that the so-called leaders are, more often than the people whom they pretend to lead, timid and fearful of change.

But it has seemed to me that our political parties are very imperfect instruments for bringing before the people the choices they can make—the choices that they want to make. The ordinary voter, who goes to the polls about once in four years, does not realize the extent to which the parties are institutions in themselves. It is necessary to take an active part in politics to observe how often the welfare of the party organization is put before the issues, even before the welfare of the commonwealth. This attitude, it almost goes without saying, is from the point of view of the party itself always short-sighted and often fatal; the shores of history are littered with the dead bones of parties which had no interest higher than self-interest.

In New Jersey, the party bosses on both sides engage in only a sham battle with each other. Regardless of their nominal party allegiance, they will get together, if they can, to protect each other from some "threatening" reform. To speak of the people v. the bosses is more than a catchphrase; often it really describes the situation in practical politics.

Perhaps one who has been active in public affairs tends to overestimate the importance of the personalities engaged in them, but I cannot think of the processes of politics as automatic, as the play of vast impersonal forces. Some economists, it seems to me, write of financial affairs as if they took place in another world, where no human passions and prejudices exist and where dollars move of their own motion. In the same way, other writers speak of politics as if it too were mechanical and as if its activities took place in some pure, rarefied atmosphere and not in the murky air of ward clubs and committee rooms.

When we rewrote the New Jersey laws taxing railroads, an economic issue produced a political fight that could not have been hotter if a religious or a civil-liberties issue had been at stake. Economics, politics and personalities are often inseparable, and problems are not going to be solved unless someone solves them. Our democracy poses problems and these problems must and shall be solved by courageous leadership.

The problem of leadership in a democracy is not new. Men wrote vividly and spoke eloquently about it long before I was born. Nor can I pretend to have *the* answer all pat and drafted, ready for introduction in the next legislature. Too many sure cures have been offered and tried, even within my memory, to make me expect that any current proposal will always bring forward the right leadership and always prevent the wrong.

There was a time when the direct primary was advanced as the cure for all the ills of democracy—it was the political sulfanilamide of forty years ago. It was to kill off the bosses by returning control of the parties to the people. No one can say how many bosses there would be without it, but certainly some vigorous specimens have not only survived but have blossomed and prospered. The initiative and referendum were also offered as specifics; they were widely tried, and apparently did no harm. But they never lived up to their advertising. And votes for women were to retire obnoxious male politicians to obscurity; again, woman suffrage has certainly brought some fine women into public life, but these leaders need more active support from other women than they are receiving.

The voters, to control their own government, must have some sort of leadership. Whatever kind they get must work with and through political parties. In this country and in England that means in practice two major parties.

So many of our political institutions are set up to operate only with majorities (not pluralities) that a long period of political evolution and constitutional change would be necessary for us to learn to make any other system work—if it could be made to work. We are accustomed to having many of the necessary compromises of politics take place within the parties and before elections, rather than in legislative bodies after elections.

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The two-party system, with all of its advantages, has the disadvantage of having powerful parties that can ignore issues—remember how long they both dodged prohibition—or parties that can take in members holding the most inconsistent views—wets and drys; conservatives, liberals, radicals; nationalists and internationalists. The Republican Party, for example, has had in it at one and the same time Fish and LaGuardia; the Democratic Party, Long and Wagner.

A party can stand for different—even for opposite—things in different places, as for instance it can fight a dictator in Berlin and protect and honor one in Jersey City. It can advance the most exalted standards of national and international ethics at one level and pursue the most sordid ones at another. In physics to be in two places at the same time would be a miracle; in politics it seems normal, natural.

I do not see how democracy can filter from the top down; it must work its way up. The leaders that a democracy must have cannot begin at the top; they must come up from the bottom. For this reason, among others, I have felt that the states of the Union must be preserved as vigorous democracies; they must progress; they must experiment; they must be willing to spend their own money or borrow on their own credit. They must be laboratories where political statesmen can learn the business of government. If the states did not exist, they would have to be created.

Under and within the states, we must have local democracies, not dictatorships. We need to have citizens who know their local problems and who work together to solve them, who neither turn them over to a boss nor run to Washington for money to build their schools or dig their sewers. The 3,000 counties and the 35,000 cities and towns in the United States can and must provide experience in democratic government both to the people and to their leaders. If they fail to produce local democratic government, we shall some day get some kind of autocratic government. Every city and every county has enough problems to challenge any citizen, and the citizen must pitch in and help solve these problems. Thomas Jefferson expressed his doubt whether self-government was possible when large numbers of people gathered in cities. The doubt is still not entirely resolved when a majority of the American people have come to live in cities and towns. Our politics is increasingly urban.

We may well need a new democracy or a reawakening of the old to cope with the new problems that are rising, especially the problem of leadership. There is in urban areas an inevitable loss of personal contact between officials and voters. In great cities and in populous states, the representation in representative government is attenuated to the vanishing point. The environment for boss rule is thereby provided—and the bosses made use of the opportune environment to flourish and grow strong. Bosses are, however, no more inevitable in state and local governments than dictators are in national governments. They will arise and prosper, nevertheless, if true believers of democracy—citizens devoted to the democratic ideals—do not constantly oppose them.

With the possible exception of Mark Hanna, we have never had a national boss, and even Hanna's power was short-lived. But the time might come when some powerful state boss might be able to branch out to control other states and then the national government. I should look for him to do so through the operations of the political party with which he worked. I should not expect an American dictator to arise, as the European ones did, through brown-shirt or black-shirt or other private organizations, nor as the Latin American ones do, through army cliques. Ours would be more likely to be as American as a smooth radio voice, as American as a *city boss*.

An alert democracy, more than any governmental machinery, will prevent the growth of American dictatorship. This vigorous democracy must rest upon a greater amount of knowledge than the average American has of the structure and the every-day working of his government. Americans, as I have said, are devoted to democracy—they will die for it. But they know very little about it. They do not know it as intimately as their fathers did when they sat around the cracker barrel in the country store and dissected the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

If the reader has any doubts about his own political literacy, he can test himself; he does not need any New York Times survey.

Let him ask himself a few questions, such as: How many men represent me in the state legislature? Who are they? To what party do they belong? What is their record? How did they come to rise in politics to reach elective office? To what political leader, if any, do they adhere? How is party leadership in my town, my ward, or my precinct determined? Who are the party leaders? Who is the political leader of my party in my precinct or voting district? How is the school board of my district selected? How many members are there on it? What control have they over school expenditures? Do I know the principal features of the charter of my town, of the state law that determines the form of my county government, of the constitution of my state? The reader need not be chagrined if he cannot answer these questions. Many a fellow citizen who knows exactly how democracy is to be set up in Germany after the war cannot answer them either.

Knowledge of our own political institutions must be the beginning of democratic wisdom. We cannot urge their improvement until we know what they are. We cannot discuss future policy intelligently until we know what present policy is and how future policy is to be carried out—and by whom. The average citizen and voter must, if he is to do his part to preserve democ-

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racy, learn something about its institutions. Perhaps, say, he ought to be willing to spend as much time on learning about them as on learning to play golf.

Interest grows with knowledge; but interest without knowledge, if not impossible, is at least futile. Having some knowledge and acquiring interest, every citizen should expect to devote a part of his time to public affairs. In wartime, people sell bonds and engage in Red Cross and civilian defense work. They expect to do this for their country in spite of the amount of their time it takes. This patriotism is laudable, but the same people who will put in night after night selling bonds will not in peacetime think of going to a political meeting or spending election day working for their party. They leave politics to the politicians and howl about how their democracy is run.

Few Americans, I suppose, regret that we have never developed a ruling class such as the British aristocracy used to be. Even single families with a tradition of public service, such as the Adams family in Massachusetts, have been very rare. Democracy should be sufficiently fertile to produce its own leadership, and our country has surely produced great men, but still we could use some of the British tradition that no man is too important or too busy to serve the crown—that is, the nation.

Indeed, if our democracy is to survive and remain vigorous, we must develop a tradition that no man or woman is too good, or too big, or too pressed by his work to serve his city, his county, or his state. The way that business and professional men have gone to Washington during the war emergency at great sacrifices to themselves shows that there is in America a germ of the idea that all should contribute public service to the best of their ability.

But while I was Governor of New Jersey, a large number of distinguished citizens of the state fulfilled their tasks in Washington and returned. I tried to interest them in the state and home-town problems that lay in their own back yards, but very, very few of them would undertake the kind of work for the state that he had gladly performed for the Union of the states. If our democracy is to be made effective, this tradition that there is honor in going to Washington but no honor in going to the state capitol or to city hall must be reversed.

It must be reversed, not only for citizens who will serve temporarily, but it must be reversed also for young men and women who are willing to make a career of politics. It is not enough for able young men and women to take civil-service jobs; they must also seek the elective offices where public policies are shaped, where democracy needs leadership.

The profession of politics must be rehabilitated in America if our democracy is to be able to meet the great problems of the years ahead. The word *politician* gives off a certain odor unpleasant to American nostrils, perhaps because of the many malodorous officials we have had. This odor will gradually disappear if the right kind of young people are attracted to politics.

For a young man without a private income, a political career seems to hold a number of hazards and difficulties that other careers do not. Just the expense of campaigning is more than most young men can afford. There is a sort of rule of thumb that it costs about one year's salary to get elected to any office, but few young men can advance that amount. There is no assurance, of course, of election, even if campaign funds can be raised. The salaries of most elective officials, the country over, are not high as compared with the salaries paid by industry to men charged with comparable responsibility, nor are they high compared with the earnings of successful professional men. And even though a man may be elected and serve with distinction, still he may—and probably will—be swept out of office in the next landslide.

These hazards help to explain why public office in America has not attracted, year in and year out, persons of the same ability and character as have been attracted to other professions. I know of no single solution, no short-cut answer to the problem. I can only hope that young people of integrity will look upon service to democracy, even though now it may be both hazardous and ill rewarded, as an opportunity for service to their fellow men that is every bit as necessary and important as any other profession.

It is encouraging that more and more colleges, in their courses of citizenship or departments of political science, are stressing public service as a career. We may also hope that the spirit of adventure is still sufficiently strong among young Americans so that many of them will take the risks of politics, as their forefathers took the risks of revolution and of living on the frontier. The working out of solutions for public problems is an adventure that is every bit as stirring as solving scientific, industrial or labor problems.

When the day comes when the enemies of the United States surrender, this nation will turn to the problems of peace with a productive capacity never anywhere equaled; there will be modern machinery in modern plants ready to produce the goods necessary for living in a better democracy than this country has ever had. There will also be an ample supply of trained labor. Our resources will not be exhausted. The reserves of credit in the war bonds will suffice for financing.

But an effective democracy demands and must have a leadership equal to the new tasks of this new day. Not dictators. Not bosses. But a *multitude* of men and women everywhere who are willing to devote all or part of their lives to the actual job of making democracy work. With courageous leadership and an enlightened electorate, democracy will survive and prosper.

CHARLES EDISON

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The Invisible Congress

The Pressure Boys and How They Work

THERE ARE MORE LOBBYISTS in Washington today than at any other time in our history. Their number is now so great, their power so much on the increase and their methods so deadly that "they threaten government itself."

They make up an invisible Congress, self-elected, responsible, in the majority, neither to the general public nor even to the real owners of the enterprises they represent. They work hard, long hours, and probably know more about the national legislative situation than any other group, including Congress itself. Daytimes, they cover Capitol Hill; nights find them still at work in the bars, drawing rooms or hotel rooms of the Capital, whichever is best suited to the work at hand.

The vast majority of Washington lobbyists are employed by organized business and spend their time protecting property interests, urging the passage of certain bills, trying to block others, and doing a great deal of finagling around the executive agencies of the government to obtain special favors. Twenty years ago, in "The Great Game of Politics," Frank R. Kent wrote of the tremendous power of the "Special Interests" in Washington and the men who served them as "Legislative Agents." At that time, Kent reported that there were 145 such representatives at work. By 1939, when Kenneth Crawford reëxamined the lobby situation in "The Pressure Boys," he estimated that the number of more or less active lobbyists operating in Washington had risen to 6,000. Crawford also called attention to the fact that the legal profession gets a lion's share of the lobby business and estimated that with approximately 5,000 lawyers in 1939, Washington was more densely populated with members of that profession than any other city in the world.

The lobbying boom between the reports of Kent and Crawford, 1924 to 1939, had occurred in spite of two full-dress Senate investigations, in 1927, by Sen. Thad Caraway of Arkansas and in 1935 by Sen. Hugo Black of Alabama. Now, twenty years after Kent's story, after the New Deal and a new war, with no Senate investigation committee to brake it, lobbying has reached an all-time high, has become the menace to democracy Hugo Black predicted it would become unless controlled.

In this country, as throughout the world, "everywhere, in every land, business has been 'going political' as rapidly as it masses power." Such studies as Robert Brady's "Business as a System of Power" have made it clear that the United States is now faced with the same threat of merging economic and state power that industrialist capitalist nations are facing everywhere. Corporate organization has taken control of our industrial production; organized business now fights for the political control it must have if it is to retain its economic powers.

Present-day lobbyists and lobbying must be examined in this framework to be understood. As their numbers have increased and their professional and financial status has advanced, their methods have become more sophisticated, their coördination has improved. In 1924, Kent reported the existence of a Monday lunch club to which practically all of the 145 national "legislative agents" belonged and at which general strategy was discussed. Pyke Johnson, president of the Automotive Safety Foundation, was a member of that club. Today, Mr. Johnson heads a similar but much more streamlined group, the Trade Association Committee, which also holds weekly luncheon meetings. The new group, however, is restricted to a single man from each "line," aluminum, steel, retailing, Chamber of Commerce, et al. The farm lobbyists also have a luncheon club to coördinate their activities, the Farm Hands' Club, whose president is the Washington representative of Sears, Roebuck.

The framework of United States business' Invisible Congress is the national-trade-association system. The trade associations, in turn, are coördinated and directed by the so-called "peak associations," the federational groups like the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, whose counterparts in Germany, Italy, Japan, France and England have played so important a part in the recent political history of those countries.

In this country, since the New Deal came to power, the number of national trade associations has more than doubled. There are now more than one thousand such groups, and it is considered highly unlikely by those who know that any one of them is now without a Washington agent of some kind. The kind of representation needed by the Association of American Railways or the American Bankers' Association may differ from what the Wild Flower Preservation Society or the Venetian Blind Association of America considers adequate. Of the more than a thousand trade associations, about two hundred have headquarters in Washington. More than four hundred others admit to having Washington offices. The rest employ people who "watch things" for them, on an off-the-record basis. Most of these watchers are either newspapermen or lawyers—mostly lawyers. That profession has taken another sharp leap, even from the lush 5,000 Crawford reported in '39. The clerk of the District Court now

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tells you that, "The last time we started to count 'em somebody got up above 10,000 before he got tired and quit. I figure there's somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000 here now."

There is no personnel problem in the Invisible Congress. And no absentee problem either. The members are on hand, eager to go to work on the particular problem or problems each one is paid to be interested in. The members of the Invisible Congress have an advantage over real congressmen in that they have no doubts about what the people who put them there want them to do. They have no problem of weighing and balancing the evidence of public sentiment which comes to them. Big business and big farmers know what they want and have laid down a line of action for their agents to follow in getting it.

Our current tax law is a big score for the "greedy" and a good example of the way in which their forces are mobilized for the attack. The tax issue came alive for most citizens only after the President vetoed the tax bill Congress had passed and Majority Leader Alben Barkley made his dramatic denunciation of the President's veto message. But to the Invisible Congress taxes had been a No.-1 issue for many months. They had appeared before congressional committees to make their views on the current bill known, and they had advised individual Senators and Representatives on what they and their bosses wanted. The trade associations, the NAM, the Chamber of Commerce and the "citizens'" organizations which follow their lead were agreed on their common stand. They mobilized behind reduced corporate taxes, increased income taxes for the lower brackets, a general sales tax, plus, of course, special relief for each lobby's pet meal ticket.

Massed along that line, they fought through to victory. Even the President took official notice of their triumph. "The bill," he said, "is replete with provisions which not only afford indefensible special privilege to favored groups but set dangerous precedents for the future." The Invisible Congress had worked hard to establish that precedent. Judge R. V. Fletcher, representing the Association of American Railroads, surely earned a bonus for his efforts to push through a provision that the railroads' losses on bankrupt subsidiaries were deductible for tax purposes. Henry Fernald, chairman of the Tax Committee of the American Mining Congress, came in to help Senators Johnson and Millikin of Colorado, who usually look out for the big mine owners on matters coming before the Finance and Mines Committees. New percentage-depletion allowances were written into the new bill for certain minerals.

The vice-president of the Weyerhauser Timber Company came to Washington to speak for the lumber industry. Invisible Congressman Lovell Parker, formerly staff chief of the Joint Congressional Committee on Taxation, had already paved the way for the timber amendments which were added to the bill permitting the lumber industry to treat income from the cutting of timber as a capital gain rather than as annual income.

The powerful commercial airlines were more than paid back for the expensive social lobby they conduct in Washington by winning an extension of the tax subsidy on their air-mail contracts. Real-estate and loan companies pulled a special plum out of the tax bill, too, in connection with the provisions for the reorganization of insolvent corporations. Herbert Nelson of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and Morton Bodfish of the United States Savings and Loan League are two of the most proficient members of the Invisible Congress. Their records deserve publicity, and I will report them in a later article.

These were some of the participants in the framing of the new "tax-relief" law. Their friends and supporters in the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee, of course, deserve a big share of the credit for widespread relief granted in the bill. The tobacco companies are grateful for the friendship of Senators Bailey and Byrd in the Senate Committee and Chairman Doughton and Representative Robertson in the House Committee. The oil companies are glad that Senator Connally of Texas sits on the Senate Finance Committee, and that Texan Milton West, Oklahoman Wesley Disney and Californian Bertrand Gearhart are members of the House Ways and Means Committee. Charles Connors of the National Association of Racing Commissioners came to Washington while the tax bill was being considered to make sure that the House tax on parimutuel betting was taken out by the Senate, and as in so many cases in the past, committee-member Alben Barkley of Kentucky obliged.

No member of the Invisible Congress does his job more effectively than Ellsworth Alvord, the Washington tax lawyer who is given credit by most congressional observers for having generaled the recent tax blitz. Mr. Alvord doubles as treasurer of the United States Chamber of Commerce and as its tax spokesman.

Drew Pearson has flatly accused Sen. Walter George, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, of being influenced by Alvord. George rejoined by indignantly summoning Pearson before his committee. Pearson cheerfully accepted the challenge, but then George got cold feet, and the invitation is still in limbo.

Treasury experts say that in its final form the current tax bill gives Alvord the highest batting average of any contender. His clients have won more special concessions in the bill than those of any other lobbyist. When he goes to the Hill, he gets amazingly deferential treatment from many members of Congress. He doesn't need to seek them out; on the contrary, they

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call on him with disturbing regularity. He is a powerful figure, better informed on taxes than many members, and they rely on him heavily.

There was a time when the men behind the lobbies thought that Washington operations, of the kind I have been describing, were adequate to their legislative needs. Since the last war, however, the trend has been toward more thorough methods. Get to members of Congress on Washington grounds, yes, but also get to them through the folks back home, business' political planners began to say. NAM propaganda began to flood the schools, clubs, newspapers and radios. The great "free-enterprise" advertising campaigns were launched. The National Industrial Information Committee, educational arm of the NAM, is now laying out the most ambitious program in industrial history for softening up the American mind to the business point of view.

At the conclusion of the last annual meeting of the NAM, the NIIC announced its plans in the following statement: "People in the mass are unconcerned about details. They tend to think in blurs. They are moved primarily by simple, emotional ideas. The NIIC will capitalize on this fact with an aggressive program designed to inspire a crusade that will sweep free enterprise into public favor." One of the major points in this free-enterprise crusade is "right thinking" about taxes. A major educational leader on this front is John W. Hanes, of Wall Street and North Carolina, former Undersecretary of the Treasury, adviser to Wendell Willkie and chairman of the Citizens' National Committee, a "research and educational organization" established "to aid in arousing the public to the danger of governmental waste," for "excessive government expenditures to smother the free-enterprise system."

Mr. Hanes's "educational" citizens' committee holds itself above lobbying on a tax bill and limits itself on the record to creating a favorable climate of opinion back home to support the Invisible Congress in Washington. Mr. Hanes himself finds time to do a considerable amount of speaking throughout the country on the necessity for a sales tax and the bright future our country will have after the war if business is relieved of the tax burden. Hanes is not without other outlets for his views. His brother, Robert M. Hanes, North Carolina banker, is chairman of the Finance Department Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce, which deals with "all questions of legislation and administrative action affecting the credit structure of the country." John Hanes is chairman of the Finance Committee of the Hearst Corporation and American Newspapers, Inc., in addition to his connections as director of Johns-Manville, Glenn Martin and Republic Aviation, the American Superpower Corporation, Pan-American Airways, the Newport News Shipbuilding Company and the United States Lines.

John Hanes is usually identified as "a Morgan man." The presence of other Morgan associates on the board of Hanes's Citizens' National Committee has led some people to conclude that this group is scheduled to replace the old Tax Foundation, which has had similar backing and purposes in years past.

A more direct line of tax propaganda is pouring out of less respectable sources. Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government is leading a flat demand for repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment, the progressive income-tax provision. Field representatives of Gannett's committee brag that the group had much to do with defeating the $25,000 salary-limitation measure and they are working to get state legislatures to pass resolutions for a constitutional convention to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment. Sen. E. H. Moore of Oklahoma is listed among the members of Gannett's committee, along with such old America Firsters as Louis Taber, former Master of the Grange, Samuel Pettengill and Booth Tarkington. Sumner Gerard, treasurer of the Gannett group, has sent out this warning call for support: "You, your heirs and every corporation in which you are a stockholder are confronted with the grave danger of having much of your income and property taken from you by confiscatory taxation in the postwar period. Now is the time for action to prevent this."

The repeal-the-Sixteenth-Amendment campaign has the support of several other smaller-time pressure groups. The American Taxpayers' Association and the Western Tax League are among them. The latter is headed by a well known tax operator named J. A. Arnold, who supported himself by tax lobbying during the twenties until exposed by Senator Caraway's investigation.

These and many other organizations are providing the grass-roots support for the Invisible Congress in Washington. Together they have won the first round on taxes.

In my next article I shall report what the Invisible Congress and its backers have in store for us with regard to aviation and shipping.

Washington HELEN FULLER

An Old Man Dies in Peace

(For Charles Erskine Scott Wood)

Can there be sorrow for the old among
The mothers and the brides and girls who grieve?

Who in the waste of young men can conceive
Sorrow for one who died of living long?

Nevertheless, all those who leave
Love, have died young.

MARIE DE L. WELCH

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Armytown, U.S.A.

DO YOU WANT TO KNOW ABOUT Armytown, U.S.A.? Rows are being planted there, but not like the ones Mr. Warburton is planning for his Victory Garden. His waistline needs the bending and hoeing and tending. But he should remember that other things, lots of other things, need tending, too.

He looks pleased with himself these days and why not? Business is booming; he can't stock things fast enough, the way people grab for them. He's just had a good dinner, the wife and kids are off to the movies and he's puttering. The garden's all planned out—a row of beans, a row of kale and through the spring and summer he'll watch them grow. And when he eats them, won't they be the best vegetables he ever tasted? Pleasant things like that.

But let's look around at Armytown. It's a freak town created by the war and things are telescoped and stripped down like a one-act play with no scenery. The naked stage is alive now with angry voices, hurling threats at the future that crouches fearfully in the wings.

A girl comes to Armytown, after twenty-two hours of sitting up in a coach. At the Travelers' Aid, the volunteer lady smiles at her with professional warmth that's just a shade tired. The girl sits there with the other fifteen or twenty girls in the room, and as she looks around, she's frightened.

You can listen in on what she's thinking. If your heart's pitch is as good as your ears', you'll hear her.

(They sit there the way the bums on the City Park benches do—not noticing, not caring, not looking. But all they want is a room, a little cheap room to come home to sleep in after work and see their men when they come in from camp. That's all I want!)

The Travelers' Aid does all it possibly can, but what comeback have they to a lady-patriot like this one over on Greenland Drive . . .

(Well, you see, Ma'am, it's not like I always let rooms but the War Council has asked all the people in town to do their part. 'Course my husband, he said, Agnes, we don't need no boarders. We can do pretty good without 'em. But after all, I says to him, maybe you're making good money now but it don't hurt to have a little something extra. This room was my youngest's but you can have it. Three dollars a night for one; five dollars for two. No, ma'am, I don't make no weekly rates. I can rent this room twenty times a day!)

The girl tries to argue, at first.

(But Mrs. C——. I'm not here for a week-end. I'm going to live here, for weeks, for months, for the whole time my husband is in training. At your figure, that'd be twenty-one dollars a week just for a sleeping room!)

They don't argue after a while. They turn on their heels and go back to the chair at the Travelers' Aid.

We have rent control? On the books, maybe, but what about putting teeth into it? The householders on the Greenland Drives of the country know the dodges. We talk a lot about saboteurs, but somehow it isn't a crime against the war effort to exploit all the uprooted people.

You've read about housing projects? That'll help out, too, but when the applications for housing at the projects pile up in the hundreds, ten more living units are added. Do we have to be razed to the ground like Europe before we can build for Armytown families, not just for now, but afterward? And remember, that when people are treated like mongrels, they're apt to snarl.

She shouldn't come down to be with her husband? Sure, she should have just stayed in bed . . .

(But he's my husband! We've given up our lives together to help make war. Down here, I can see him a few times a week. I can feel near him and call him on the phone, bring him things, and we can talk and laugh and love. We won't be cheated out of everything!)

You think they came down here for a lark, because they want to? Don't you think they're like your wife? Don't you think they want to rush into the kitchen mornings and get breakfast and send their men off to work? To have supper to get, the marketing to do, and the wash; to know their men will be with them at night?

They're the war casualties you'll never read about. Think about them when you dig your garden, when you slip into your side of the bed and feel your wife's warmth and sense the kids cozy in their beds.

Armytown folks want all that, too, but they're ready to compromise. More guest houses at the camps instead of accommodations for 100 visitors in a camp of 70,000 men. Give them rooms at the USO even if a few ping-pong tables and checker games have to be shoved aside to do it. Operate the tourist camps that've closed. Lease resorts that are folding up. There are immediate ways, if you don't put dollars ahead of morale.

A man needs desperately some sort of shield against his special brand of loneliness. He comes into Armytown because he's lonely even though he lives in crowds. He talks to the others, but only words that the crowdedness forces on him. In back of the words, is that empty, barren echo of all the things he could talk about, if only the other fellow knew . . .

(If the fellows knew the house I live in, and the family, and the people on the block. It's nothing special, but it's me—the life I used to lead. If I could find in town something, someone to hang onto . . . just to know I belonged somewhere . . .)

The small intimate talk about himself doesn't belong in the man's world out at a camp. He tries to find

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Kenneth Leslie Answers Smear Campaign

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THE PROTESTANT
521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-7551

Editor—New York World-Telegram

February 14, 1944

125 Barclay Street
New York 15, N. Y.
Sir:

I must request space for a brief reply to Mr. Woltman's articles in the World-Telegram of February 7, 8 and 9, which label THE PROTESTANT, its Textbook Commission to Eliminate Anti-Semitic Statements in American Textbooks, and myself, as being "anti-Jewish," "anti-Catholic" and unofficial apologists for Communism.

Mr. Woltman charges me with being anti-Semitic because I attack the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

I am anti-Catholic, according to Mr. Woltman, because I called Archbishop Spellman "the dainty servant of Vatican intrigue."

Finally Mr. Woltman "proves" that I am an "apologist for Communism" because I demanded a diplomatic break with Spain and a revocation of the deportation order against Harry Bridges.

In his smear attack on myself and the organization I represent, Mr. Woltman goes to great pains to create the impression that by my criticism of the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews I am guilty of anti-Semitism. But Mr. Woltman very carefully omits to mention the reason for my attack against those bodies.

THE PROTESTANT accused and still accuses the American Jewish Committee of appeasing the groups responsible for the creation of anti-Semitism.

THE PROTESTANT strongly opposed and still opposes the hush-hush policy of the American Jewish Committee in fighting anti-Semitism.

THE PROTESTANT pointed out that Judge Joseph Proskauer, head of the American Jewish Committee, was one of the key figures in the American Liberty League, whose members contributed money to the Sentinals of the Republic for anti-Semitic activities.

THE PROTESTANT charged and still charges the American Jewish Committee with trying to prevent exposure of Henry Ford's continued support of anti-Semitic activities headed by men in his employ.

THE PROTESTANT proved, by means of incontrovertible documents, that the American Jewish Committee had been delinquent—and that intentionally—in defending Jewish rights

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JOSEPH G. MOORE
St. Paul's Parish, Evansville, Ind.
KAREN MORLEY
Hollywood, California
LOUIE D. NEWTON
Assoc. Sec'y, Baptist World Alliance
ROBERT H. NICHOLS
New York Synod Presbyterian Church
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS
San Francisco, California
WILHELM PAUCK
University of Chicago
EDWIN MCNEILL POTEAT
Euclid Ave. Baptist Church
Cleveland, Ohio
GORDON POTEAT
Crozer Theological Seminary
A. CLAYTON POWELL
Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y.
LEONHARD RAGAZ
Editor, "Neue Wege," Zurich
BEN RICHARDSON
Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y.
LESLIE ROBERTS
Montreal, Canada
RAYMOND ROBINS
Chinsegut Hill, Fla.
W. STANLEY RYCROFT
Exec. Sec'y, Committee
on Cooperation in Latin America
D. R. SHARPE
Exec. Sec'y, Cleveland Baptist Assoc.
ALVA TAYLOR
Social Service Commission
Federal Council of Churches
WATSON THOMPSON
University of Manitoba
PAUL TILLICH
Union Theological Seminary
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
National Council, Y.M.C.A.
GREGORY VLASTOS
Queens University, Canada
O. WALTER WAGNER
St. John's Evangelical & Reformed Church
Jackson, Michigan
RUFUS W. WEAVER
Washington, D. C.
ROBERT WHITAKER
Los Gatos, California
HENRY N. WIEMAN
University of Chicago
CLAUDE WILLIAMS
Institute of Applied Religion

[illegible] To quote freely from my editorial in the first issue of THE PROTESTANT, in Dec. 1938:

"Right away we shall make a confession. We believe that some of the best protesting today is being done by Catholics, and for that reason much of our material will be drawn from Catholic sources. For no-saying is as necessary now as it was in Luther's day. If ever there was a protester it was Christ himself. But his no-saying implies a tremendous yes-saying. May ours today, both Catholic and Protestant, have the same implication! . . . A very dear Catholic friend of mine writes: 'Some of the noblest protestants of history were Catholics . . . St. Francis, for instance, and Catherine of Siena, and Dante. A penetrating exchange of views, so long as it is touched with the charity as well as the clarity of Christ, ought to be the weal of us all.' The purpose of our venture could not be better expressed."

THE PROTESTANT has NEVER attacked the Catholic religion. It has taken and still is taking issue with the political activities of the Vatican and its emissaries. Those who read THE PROTESTANT know that our editorial policy is crystal-clear on that point.

As to our defense against the series of unprovoked attacks upon us by the National Conference of Christians and Jews: we have time and again pointed out that we cannot condone the appeasement policy of the Conference. We have published in THE PROTESTANT a very comprehensive article by Rabbi Joshua Bloch, chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library — an article in which this distinguished scholar analyzed the record of the National Conference and revealed as a "hoax" its claims of having cleaned up anti-Semitism in Catholic and Protestant religious textbooks.

THE PROTESTANT more than once directed attention to the fact that Father Edward Lodge Curran, the Number Two Jew-baiter in this country, was a member of the National Board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It was only after we had done this that Father Curran was removed. We did not meet with the same success with regard to Mr. Carleton Hayes, America's Franco-glorifying Ambassador to Madrid, who is to this date one of the chief figures of the National Conference.

THE PROTESTANT adheres to its policy of attacking Fascism here and abroad, irrespective of whether its sponsorship be Protestant, Catholic or Jewish.

As long as Mr. Woltman brought up the myth of "responsible Jewish groups" being worried about the tendencies of THE PROTESTANT, I should like to quote from an editorial in a recent issue of the Congress Weekly, published by the American Jewish Congress, which is headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and unquestionably is America's most important national Jewish organization for the defense of Jewish rights The Congress Weekly states:

"Mr. Kenneth Leslie, editor of THE PROTESTANT, in a recent article on 'Christianity and Anti-Semitism' has the courage to declare: 'Anti-Semitism as we know it in the Western world is an element which has been for 2,000 years part and parcel of the Christian tradition. It can only be dealt with as such.'

Our position as Jews and as victims prevents us from elaborating any further on this statement. But even as Jews we cannot feign such ignorance as not knowing in which of the Christian denominations anti-Semitic teachings are emphasized in larger degree. Inasmuch as the violent acts of the hoodlums are a product of home environment and beliefs indoctrinated in the youths by paternal and religious authority it is the job of the Christian community to investigate and reveal the source of influences that bring about this evil.

The veil over these real sources of the evil must be removed. To quote Mr. Leslie again: 'Democracy must say to Christianity: Clean house of this anti-democratic thought and action'."

I have ignored the personal angle of Mr. Woltman's attack and taken up only a few of its more serious aspects. I suppose that I should go into sackcloth and ashes for having been guilty of "selling buttermilk and growing apples," as Mr. Woltman revealed in his "Case Against Intolerance." I feel no bitterness against Frederick Woltman for his attempt to destroy THE PROTESTANT and build up the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. But one cannot evade history and distort undeniable facts even through sensational headlines and the recitation of eminent names to cover up falsification of the truth.

M. Pierre van Paassen, Mr. Johannes Steel, the news analyst, and Mr. Joseph Brainin, associate editor of THE PROTESTANT, whom Mr. Woltman also includes in his diatribe, can rest on their records. Specifically, when a man of the stature of Pierre van Paassen, whom the Jews in this country, in Europe and in Palestine have come to regard as their greatest champion, is accused of anti-Semitism, then the accuser must be pitied for having exposed his ignorance—or malice—so flagrantly.

I want to believe that, as the editor of a newspaper whose masthead carries the slogan "Give light and the people will find their own way", you will find the space to publish this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Leslie

KENNETH LESLIE

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a listener among the only civilians in town—the women . . .

(I see this girl sitting alone in one of the booths, so I move over there with my coffee and sandwich. Her eyes are dull and she's tired and lonely. I think, hell, sister, we're sort of in the same boat even if you don't wear OD's, and I lean over and say, "Have a drink, Miss?" Not fresh or anything, just trying to be friendly. She doesn't get sore, but she looks at me a minute and says so low I can hardly hear her, "No, thank you." Then I notice her hands, like I should of done in the first place. She's married. There's only two kinds of girls in Armytown . . . soldiers' wives or anybody's gals. Some field to choose from, eh?)

Amusements in Armytown, Warburton? Up the main street there are the cheap cafés, the wine and beer alleys and the town's night club. And the movies, if you can get in, and the USO's . . .

(There's amusements, but I'd say it depended on what you're aiming for. Every time I come into town I start to ask myself whatinhell I did it for. Just a change, I guess, but after the first few minutes it ain't no change as I can see. Some fellas wandering up and down; a few with their gals—the lucky ones—but mostly in threes or fours. They've got the paintbrush ready only there's nothing to paint red . . .)

They're adrift on the world, Warburton, and that's why, especially as camps fill with married men, their women come along. They are the moorings to which a soldier can tie up, at least until he is swallowed up overseas. Yet sometimes a fellow almost stifles with loneliness before he'll ask his folks to come . . .

(The trains and buses are jammed and still the only travel rationing we have is the law of first come, first served. My mother can't push her way through a train and my wife'll have a baby to carry along with the baggage. I've a six-months'-old baby. Here's his picture—that's the closest I've come to seeing him. Why can't we ration travel along with sugar and meat?)

But out at the Service Clubs, big de-luxe buses roll in with hundreds of girls for a battalion dance that the boys have to be ordered to attend. Yet nobody thinks a wife, a sweetheart or someone the boys really want to see is worth making traveling arrangements for.

One of the first things you learn to do in Armytown is to mark time in your tracks and sit and wait or stand and wait. For a bus, for a pass, for your fellow, for your girl, for train tickets, for groceries.

Some are even glad of the waiting. Girls sit at the bus stops and watch their buses go by. It's too early to go "home" and there's nothing to do anyway . . .

Why the dull red flush of indignation, Warburton? Individualism? Sanctity of private enterprise? Maybe. But a world is being torn apart so don't expect the pieces to fall back into the old patterns. Something far more is required for this chap going home on furlough . . .

(Ya bet I'm going home. Good old Times Square. Jeez, it's a great town. Worked there. Yep, twelve years in one place. Boy, all I want is my mother and my honey . . . my mother and my honey. Maybe a couple of spots while the bankroll holds out. Am I getting married? Are you kidding? On what? Sure us soldiers are rich . . . getting double what the fellas got last time, but it's double on nothing. Hell, I know it has to be this way and I'm not kicking—not now, anyway. We're waiting, see. Waiting till I come back for good, because my girl's got a right to some sort of home, to eating reg'lar, to not being scared to death if a baby comes along. . . . But, Mister, there better be jobs, there better be a chance to live like men, there better be more'n parades down Fifth Avenue or a lot of fellows are going to get sore!)

Consider, Warburton, approximately 10,000,000 men are going to feel sore unless we give them a square deal. There's a lot of anger in the army and they're being trained to be fighting mad.

They are angry now at Armytown because they don't even see a square deal there. But after the baptism of fire, when the torn and the maimed are filling the hospitals, they'll stop taking anything on faith. Aren't you fearful of their anger?

Maybe you ought to be planting something besides vegetable seeds. Other seeds. The seeds and roots of a world that'll hold its peace, that will make peace the ticket for every human being on earth because he'll have the things he needs and must have.

But wars feed on the entrails of society and you can't nibble at the edges of change. What do you propose as a stopgap for the spilling hatred and bitterness of men like this one . . . ?

(Yep. I'm married. Been married fifteen years. I don't care who knows my business. Got nothing to hide. I told practically the whole U. S. Army so one more can't bother me. Yeah, they got me; split us up after fifteen years. I have to sit back and watch some lousy 4-F who isn't even an American take over my store in Montrose and roll in the shekels. Sure, I've got to watch my wife go back to live with her folks and take a job at Sperry's. The kid we had died so she ain't no mother to the draft board. As though those dirty so-and-so's give a damn. I've got friends who told me how it'd be unless we stayed out of the war, but I didn't listen. Well, I'm listening now, Mister, and they're talking sense . . .)

Warburton, you may think you can hide from his hatred, but it will find you out.

(Listen, Mister, when this goddam war is over, someone's going to pay for it, and it won't be me!)

Tell me, Warburton, have you planned and measured and plotted and dug and cultivated one square inch of the world these boys and their people are living in now—and are going to find when this is all over?

TERRY MORRIS

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Washington Notes

Just Before the Battle

THIS IS INVASION WEATHER. Washington is moving along with a time-bomb ticking under it. Executives are getting jittery trying to appear calm. That stern note to Eire put her on notice that little nations had better watch out; it's going to be a bloody night. Mr. Roosevelt's press conferences have shown strain; the comment on the Italian navy was unnecessary. There is also irascibility in international dealings as the steady tick-tick-ticking goes on. It will be easier for everybody after the blast once lets go. And, folks, it's about due.

I watched Mr. Roosevelt's face at the press conference as he was led on and on about the Russian claim to one-third the Italian navy. Unless he is a better actor than I think, his comment was unpremeditated. It was the end of a dull press conference. Somebody raised a casual query as to the Russian ambassador's visit a couple of weeks past. Mr. Roosevelt just as casually said it was about the allocation of the Italian navy, and dropped the subject. There was a tense little pause, then another question, and another. Once committed, Mr. Roosevelt went on. There was something of airy condescension in his voice, I thought. I noted the words "or its equivalent," and underlined them, when he mentioned the prospective allocation of one-third the Italian fleet to Russia. They turned out, of course, to be the key words. Mr. Roosevelt might, and should, I think, either have elaborated the proposal or remained silent about it. The upshot of it all was, of course, that Churchill made his own testy amplification later in London, and then Mr. Roosevelt, at his subsequent press conference, rather pettishly told reporters he had meant that all along.

The matter is not of particular importance save as another hint that the hoped-for solidarity of Teheran is not complete. Washington has been filled with backstairs criticism of slow British progress in Burma. Secretary Ickes' proposed Arabian pipeline must have seemed like one of the less agreeable "Thousand and One Nights" to Harold Wilkinson, British petroleum representative in Washington. Differences also continue over French and Italian policy.

Some people here are comparing the proposed Roosevelt-Ickes 1,200-mile government-built pipeline through the heart of Arabia with Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana. It would be interesting if Roosevelt, like his fellow liberal Jefferson, wound up in a burst of commercial imperialism. Mr. Ickes' full case isn't in yet and I, for one, am not going to hand down judgment till the fog lifts. But a more breath-taking project than this $130,000,000 scheme, by which three big oil companies, in partnership with the government, would amortize and pay for the African pipeline and ultimately leave it in Uncle Sam's lap, has not come up for a generation.

Congress seems bent on condemning it, but one or two things ought to be said. All modern nations need oil, and the need is going to increase. The other big countries are out after oil, with the governments leading the way. The world oil trade is already cartelized, however preferable a free system might be. Coping directly with foreign governments are the big American oil companies, in effect making foreign policy, without benefit of State Department. The Ickes proposal, screwball or not, does affirm continued American interest in world affairs, and does provide machinery for government rather than private initiative in diplomatic matters.

It can be objected that an over-all world oil agreement under League of Nations auspices would be a better approach. But it is also fair to say that, short of something revolutionary, the cartel system is likely to stay—and grow. All the big oil companies that aren't in on the Ickes deal, to the number of 55, are vociferously fighting it; chiefly, it would seem, because it permits too much government regulation. It is funny to hear these 55 oil companies now deploring the oil-shortage scare, which some of them were instrumental in building up a few years ago, when they themselves wanted an argument for higher oil prices. Maybe the 55 don't like the Arabian clause that a billion-barrel oil reserve must be set up, or that oil sold to the government must be at a discount. Some domestic American oil producers also, of course, oppose all imports.

In a few months the petroleum parley with Britain will be held in Washington. Cordell Hull will head our delegation, and Honest Harold will be vice-chairman. While not acknowledging that the Arabian oil deal is window-dressing, some observers here stress that it would give the administration important bargaining power in the hard-boiled proceedings that lie ahead.

Miscellany. – Recommended reading: Frigid article in Harper's on "Wendell Willkie—Man of Words." . . . Governor Dewey's states'-rights soldiers'-vote proposal did him little good, with the anti-Roosevelt New York Times heading its comment "It Won't Work" and even the Scripps-Howard chain objecting. . . . A Republican Senator was surprised the other day to get a Roosevelt hint that he revive the St. Lawrence waterway drive. . . . Secretary Stimson was as startled, and a lot angrier than Senator Vandenberg, to discover that his Army War College Library Committee had recommended to the troops that American Mercury piece, bastinadoing General MacArthur, as "a comprehensive and objective appraisal"; he hit the ceiling and abolished the service. . . .The New York stock market started its climb the day congressmen began talking about soldiers' bonus No. 2; it's a concrete image of the postwar inflationary move which observers now believe Congress will take in some form; this modest initial proposal is for $30,000,000,000. . . . Old "$500-a-speech" platform performer Gerald P. Nye, the North Dakota isolationist, seems on his way out as Senator; the Non-Partisan League has dropped him, and despite The Chicago Tribune, the state GOP may do the same thing. . . . Republican freshmen Senators want a vigorous successor to their late leader McNary picked now; old-liners are inclined to string along with amiable, mild Wallace White of Maine till after the convention, to see who's nominated—and after the election, to see who's President.

Washington T. R. B.

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O'Casey in Boston

SEAN O'CASEY'S literary progress might be charted as running from art and life to Art and Life to a none too certain compromise between Art and life. Art and Life are high-class literary abstractions; art and life are what genius can see in common reality. When he wrote "Purple Dust" and "The Star Turns Red," O'Casey climbed to the high inane to do his work. He made a fine abstraction of comedy and a grand theoretical interpretation of social strife, and I suppose he felt much the better for it. In "Red Roses for Me" we meet him coming down the mountain, a prophet returning from the waste, with revelation in his lungs and still a little drunk with it. What surprises me is that I am inclined to believe that, if he gets to the bottom again and sobers up, we may find his revelation genuine and effective.

I am surprised because when I read the play I thought it had only about a gill more blood in it than "Purple Dust." When I went to see its production by the Tributary Theatre of Boston, an amateur group coached by Eliot Duvey, the dramatic director at Boston College, I expected something hesitantly arty. Instead, the play was full of life and the production was excellent. Even the "gold canoe" speeches, over which every sympathetic critic has bowed an anguished head, left one feeling that Ayamonn Breydon, the hero, probably would talk like that and get away with it. How much of the credit for that belongs to Fred Graves, who acted the part, and how much to O'Casey, I can only guess, for that possibility didn't seem to be in the speeches when I read them myself, and reading them over, I still find it hard to believe. Yet this was the same Fred Graves and the same company that filled an evening of mine with gloom, when they played Saroyan's "A Decent Birth and a Happy Funeral" in all its white, platitudinous horror. I had to revise my opinion of play and players accordingly. An amateur company that can act good plays well and bad plays badly is not to be sneezed at. Neither is the promise implied in this phase of O'Casey's development to be sneezed at. He will never write another "Juno and the Paycock," but it would be a poor showing if twenty years of experiment and adventure were only leading him around to his starting point.

Yet his present direction has its obvious dangers, too. Like Joyce he is living on his youth, eating it daily with new sauces, finding no new nourishment in the life he is living. "Red Roses for Me" is made out of exactly the same stuff as his second volume of autobiography, "Pictures in the Hallway." Ayamonn Breydon, all on fire with Shakespeare and socialism, with poethry and paintin' and learnin', is Johnny Cassidy, is the young Sean O'Casey as the old Sean O'Casey dreams him. The Protestant rector is his rector; the church, his church; the strike, the Dublin Transport Workers' strike of 1913. It is all memory and reminiscence—concentrated, refashioned, more skillfully arranged, perhaps, but getting smaller with each reworking. And the humor, the most valuable part of it, is different from that showered on Joxer Daly and Fluther Good only in that there is less of it and that little, less spontaneous. O'Casey may well find himself with a scarcity of lively material when he grows surest of the way he wants to write.

Where then is the promise? It is, I think, in the growing energy of his belief. His early plays more than satisfied the public because his disbelief in the motives of official war coincided exactly with the post-revolutionary reaction in Ireland and the postwar disillusionment elsewhere. The positive faith he put into them was obscured by his disappointment. It was there all the same. Today, that faith is the bold, open theme of his work; and he serves it in this play, if fuzzily, not meanly. If a strong sense of beauty, faith, energy and humor help to make a good play, it is a long time since we have been given a very good play. "Red Roses for Me," for all its hazy rhetoric and misplaced poetry, for all its hundred points of failure as clear drama, could go a long way toward filling that gap. O'Casey is not telling us about what a patriotic thing it would be, at this juncture, to have faith in the human spirit; he is telling us about the faith.

JOHN V. KELLEHER

B Plus

"THE CURSE OF THE CAT PEOPLE" is a Val Lewton-produced B-picture about a problem-child which is a sound educational aid to parents, an occasionally delicately exact portrait of a child, and so sincerely adult-minded in its whole approach as to make it the least Hollywood-like film from Hollywood this year. Its problem has a startling dignity and human significance for a Hollywood movie—being about a child (Ann Carter) who worries or antagonizes the people around her with her day-dreaming: the more she antagonizes them the more she is forced back on the people of her fantasies for "friends." When she finds an old photograph of her father's deceased, psychopathic first wife, she sees her as one of her fantasied "friends," and the father is afraid his daughter has become mentally ill and is under a curse. His insistence that she stop day-dreaming brings about the climax, and the film's conclusion is that he should have more trust and faith in his daughter and her visions.

The entire writing and production of the film are surprisingly devoted to the interests of a sincere understanding of its problem. It is no textbook on the reason and development of childhood day-dreamers, but its ideas, I think, are unusually adequate and its motivations logically and subtly developed. The box-office connection it makes to the earlier "Cat People" and its use of a conventional plot-enlivener about a haunted house are too melodramatic for the picture's needs, but even with these there has been a real effort to work them into the theme with convincing psychological presence and relationship. Much of the characterization is lacking in the usual synthetic trappings and romantic aids, and technically the picture was produced with sensitivity and thought. On its naturalistic level, "The Curse of the Cat People" lacks sufficient life in the significance of its insights into reality, and the playing, which is on the stiff, precarious side of naturalism, doesn't compensate for this sterility with enough vitality to make it an artistic dream movie. But it has so much more dignity than the other Hollywood films around that it seems at this moment inordinately wholesome.

Besides its general respect for intelligence, it has the ability to convey at times the exact quality of certain states

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of childhood. It is especially good in getting across the delicacy and warm enchantment surrounding the girl in her day-dreaming, through close-ups and the lighting of her face and blond hair. There are a few extraordinary moments in the treatment of these episodes—one of them when the girl sits by the pond in her yard, friendless and in the first stage of reverie, and dips her hand idly through the water: the symbolized view of her arm in and out of the water produces a very strange, almost macabre, visual impression. At another time there is a fine use of sound and constructions of shadows that build a very convincing accompaniment to the child's nightmare. The lyrical use of people, sound and light when the child's daydreamed friend appears, and the scenes between the two, in spite of the burleycue discordancy of the treatment of Simone Simon —in an amazing garment—are excellent compared to some similar vision-producing in "The Song of Bernadette." The performance of the girl in "The Curse of the Cat People," which is not remarkable, is still less wooden and more passionate than Jennifer Jones's in "Bernadette." They do, for instance, some fine things here with the small girl's walks toward and within the haunted house—capturing the right degree of fascination and fear.

The quality of these moments throws the sterility of the characterization of a number of other important items of the picture into an even more pronounced light—the un-Hollywood-treated parents are also uncharacterized—beyond their looking exactly like the young married pair that used always to come on in small-town movie advertisements for the local grocer or shoe store; also their home, their daughter's school life and her schoolteacher have the same ideal innocuousness. Still, whatever its lack of vitality, it hasn't the sickly green cast of the usual superficial Hollywood product.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

"If we need to cite any glaring example of insolent disregard of the Constitution and of State rights," he said, "we need go no further now than the executive effort to deprive American men and women of their full rights to vote for all candidates of their choice." – *Gov. Dwight Green of Illinois in an address before the Republican National Committee, as quoted in The Chicago Daily News.*

The paternity issue was hinted at yesterday when attorneys for Miss Manners said they would ask the court for a blood test "if necessary, to determine the possible lack of paternity." At that time they refused to elaborate. – *From The Washington Star.*

Look Who's Talking

Any proposal, no matter how sensible, which would arouse the sharp resistance of that dominant section of big business that supports the war and can become an active supporter of the program of postwar collaboration and stability envisaged in the Teheran declaration, ought not to be pressed. The perspective of the liberal critics of the Baruch-Hancock report, whether they realize it or not, is one of sharp class conflict such as would undermine national unity and threaten to wreck the entire Teheran program, thereby opening the sluices of World War III. – *From The New Masses.*

That All-Out Effort

Supervisor John J. Sullivan's resolution, offered several weeks ago, condemning the asserted practice of liquor wholesalers forcing retailers to purchase Bibles at $16.50 a dozen in order to get whiskey, was adopted. According to Sullivan, who said yesterday the practice was declining, the Bibles ostensibly were for distribution among the armed forces. – *From The San Francisco Chronicle.*

On the Home Front

Café-society dope who paid a local sharper $1,000 for a seat to the Lonergan trial now threatens court action to recover, because of mistrial. – *From Ed Sullivan's column in The New York Daily News.*

Total-War Department

Because Mrs. Zofia Czechon's dog growled at the dog of German Col. Richard Kunat, she was sentenced to pay 1,000 marks or serve three months in prison by a Nazi court at Plock, Poland, the Polish Ministry of Information reported today. – *An AP dispatch to The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Edison for President

SIR: My candidate for President—neither "pin-up" glamor boy nor "ideal," but a decent and practical American—would be Charles Edison, the recent Governor of New Jersey. Mr. Edison weighed his political future in the balance against good government. He would not compromise democracy by compromising with Hague, and so, as he left office, Hague was able to hurl after him the sneer that he was still carrying on while Edison was politically dead.

I realize that Edison does not have the kind of build-up, Hollywood style, necessary to put him in the class of what is called presidential timber. That is a sad commentary on democracy. . . .

Cambridge, Mass. LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH

To the Democratic National Committee

SIR: I propose a campaign strategy for the coming election based upon an educational program of informing the American people of the true nature of fascism.

In this campaign, the whole story of how the Fascist and Nazi regimes came into being, the type of backing they had and the reason the backers were willing to spend their money to put these elements into power, must be presented in simple language and the facts driven home. It will then be obvious to the American voter that the anti-administration forces are financed and led by the same groups and types of individual that financed and put across fascism abroad.

The American people, fully informed of the sordid facts of fascism, would never accept it under the guise of Republicanism.

Guadalupe, Calif. ROBERT MANGOLD

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The Nisei and Selective Service

SIR: In the correspondence columns of your March 6 issue Miss Teiko Ishida, acting national secretary of the Japanese American Citizens' League, states that the reinstitution of Selective Service procedures for American citizens of Japanese ancestry means that "Japanese Americans will [now] be subject to call for military duty on the same basis as other citizens." As Miss Ishida points out, this recent action of the War Department is a welcome one in that it is a step toward the restoration of full citizenship rights to this minority. However, it should be obvious to Miss Ishida and to the Japanese American Citizens' League that merely to reinstate Selective Service for the Nisei does not restore to them the right to serve *on the same basis as other Americans.*

The great majority of the 70,000 Nisei and their families are still held in virtual internment in the Relocation Centers. Outside of these camps their travel and residence are restricted. Except for Nisei in the army, who may obtain special permission, Japanese Americans and their families cannot return to their former homes on the West Coast, from which they were evicted two years ago on grounds of "military necessity." They are also excluded from the Atlantic and the Gulf Coast states unless special permission is obtained. Nisei men and women who wish to work in war plants are generally required to obtain special "War Plant Clearance" to show their "eligibility" (!), and these permits are often denied them without explanation.

In the armed forces also, American citizens of Japanese descent are not permitted to serve on the same basis as other Americans. Except for a small number of Nisei inducted prior to the outbreak of the war and those who are in the Intelligence units, some 9,000 Japanese Americans who volunteered subsequent to Pearl Harbor are segregated into two all-Nisei units, the 100th and the 442nd Infantry Battalions. This segregation, apparently, is to be continued, for the War Department has recently announced that Nisei draftees will be placed in the 442nd Infantry Battalion. Nisei are not eligible to serve in the Air Corps and other specialized units; they are not allowed to enlist in the navy or to serve in the Waves and, with a few exceptions, scores of Nisei students enrolled in medical and dental schools are excluded from the Army Specialized Training Program. . . .

Finally, may I point out that the Japanese American Citizens' League is not, as Miss Ishida claims, "the only organization of American citizens of Japanese descent working toward integration and assimilation." There are other organizations of Japanese Americans striving toward the realization of complete democracy, and many individual Nisei are in sharp disagreement with some of the policies and attitudes of the Japanese American Citizens' League. . . .

St. Louis, Mo. KAZUYUKI TAKAHASHI

Nigeria and the Colonial Problem

SIR: Julian Huxley's "Colonies and Freedom" [The New Republic, January 24] contradicts many fundamental principles of democratic freedom. The article itself is provocative not only to the colonials but also to the whole world of liberalism.

Imperialism is wrong because it alienates the people's politico-economic rights. It puts power and control in the hands of foreign interests whose objectives in the colonies are: (a) raw materials, (b) cheap labor, (c) markets for the home-manufactured commodities, and (d) fabulous administrative posts, such as Governor Generals, Commissioners and many other colonial posts. Consequently the imperialist, in an effort to perpetuate his domination profitably, fights to obstruct the establishment of a people's government by their own citizens. So imperialism pays.

A country ruled by aliens is by no means a democracy. A nation that imposes its rule upon another is a dictator nation. Therefore no realistic lover of freedom could put bouquets upon dictators no matter in whatever garb they are covered.

No nation has ever built up another. It was not Julius Caesar who built Britain for the British; neither was it George III of England who built the United States of America. Why must the British biologist insist that the British are in Nigeria to develop Nigeria? Pure fallacy and ridiculous pretension! To develop Nigeria educationally, industrially and politically, we must be liberated so that we may again think free and act free.

No nation is incapable of independence. No matter how small, or how rural, how illiterate or how poor, every country is by nature carved a free political entity. Those who prey upon African and other unmechanized countries of the world are identical with exponents of Nietzscheanism—might is right. Otherwise, why should the British Tories, with whom we fight against dictators, continue to impose their own form of dictatorship (colonialism) upon us?

Nigeria is four times as large as the British Isles and equals in size the total areas of France and Germany; it is one-sixth the size of the United States. With a population estimated at between 21,000,000 and 33,000,000, Nigeria is the largest country in Africa. Her mineral deposits of coal, petroleum, tin, iron, bauxite, limestone, zinc, gold, etc., together with huge vegetable and animal resources such as cotton, rubber, cocoa, palm produce, hides and dairy products, make Nigeria a region of considerable significance to Nigerians and the rest of the economic world. We want to develop these resources first for the good of the Nigerian people, and second for the general good of mankind.

Realistic steps should be taken now to enable Nigerians to take over their own government four or five years after the war. What the United States accomplished in the Philippines from 1933 until the outbreak of hostilities is something for the British and other imperialists to emulate. For us, a ten-year period of handing over to us our own government is enough for gradual withdrawal of foreign rule from Nigeria. If the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran Declaration amount to anything, then the signatories thereof should hasten the day when the yoke of colonialism would be lifted from our necks. We desire no charity or continued political paternalism. WE WANT TO BE FREED while we can yet draw breath so that we may develop our country and thereby be better equipped to make our full contribution toward universal peace and progress.

The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. MBONU OJIKE

[Mbonu Ojike is an African Negro, born into the Aro-Chukwu clan of the Ibo tribe, the largest in Nigeria, with about 4,500,000 members. He grew up in southern Nigeria and attended the Awka Teachers' College. After studying by correspondence with Oxford University, he came to America, and holds degrees from Ohio State University and the University of Chicago. He is now completing a book on the general problem discussed in his letter.—THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Francisco Frola, president of the Allianza Internacional Giuseppe Garibaldi Por la Libertad de Italia, writes to us from Mexico City, enclosing a copy of a petition addressed to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin. The petition, which is drawn up in the name of the anti-fascist Italian refugees, asks that the refugees be allowed to return at once to the liberated areas of Italy to help carry on the struggle against fascism. It bears some two hundred signatures, among them those of José Clemente Orozco, Vincente Lombardo Toledano, Alfonso Reyes, Eduardo Villaseñor, Enrique Gonzáles Martínez, Fidel Velázquez and Eugenio Prado.

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Books in Review

Rattling Around the War

HERE ARE three war books, each of a different type and each, with its imperfections, standing for at least a dozen others. The first is an adventure story written by a man who interviewed two of the returning warriors; it might have been called "The Story of Wingate's Raiders *as told to* Charles J. Rolo." The second is a realistically painted battle picture by Robert Sherrod, of Time and Life, who dodged the bullets at Tarawa while taking more notes than an honors student in the lecture room. The third is a travel diary full of interesting observations but lacking a central idea or emotion; it is John Gunther inside the European war, and rattling around.

Among the three books, "Wingate's Raiders"[1] is the most interesting for its subject matter, but the most irritating for the information it fails to furnish. How many soldiers followed Wingate into Burma and how many came back again? Why must the "vital jobs" they carried out beyond the Irrawaddy remain a military secret? Haven't the Japanese learned about them after a year? How did Wingate's Mob, as it was called, inflict "several thousand casualties" on the enemy? There is no mention in the book of anything more than brief skirmishes that claimed a few dozen victims. In an early chapter we read that Wingate's favorite method was to surprise the Japanese by night, and yet the author gives no example of such an attack. Even worse, he tries to compensate for his lack of information by writing in an inflated style, so that the skeptical reader begins to wonder whether Wingate is such an important figure after all. Is he really the Lawrence of Burma?—or is he merely one of those quaint English figures invented by the novelists, complete with yoga, raw onions to munch, a well thumbed Plato to read aloud before the attack, a high, fanatical nose and a topee?

But nobody doubts that Wingate's raid was a turning point in the Burmese war. He was the first to train a special jungle force; it consisted of second-line troops, but Wingate taught them woodcraft and guerrilla tactics and fired them with his own enthusiasm. He was the first general in modern times to strike directly into the jungle, with no supply lines except by air. For a year before his raid, the British had been disheartened not only by losing Burma but also because the Japanese had outwitted them at jungle warfare and outtalked them with the natives. Wingate outwitted the Japanese and helped to turn the natives against them; then he brought most of his troops back alive.

Betio is the little island at the southwest tip of Tarawa Atoll: less than one square mile of sand, coral and shattered palm trees—plus an airfield—which the Marines captured last fall at the cost of 3,000 casualties, including 931 dead or missing. Robert Sherrod, who was present during the battle, has written a short book about it,[1] full of gunfire, carnage, admiration for the Marines and fury at the people back home who don't think about the war.

He waded ashore through machine-gun fire on the first morning of the battle, when the Marines held a beachhead twenty feet wide and snipers were firing at them (and sometimes missing) from dugouts thirty feet away. Until one o'clock on the second afternoon, the Marines thought they might be pushed back into the sea; then at last the battle turned in their favor. On the third night, the Japanese admitted defeat by making the suicide charge that has become their custom. On the fifth day there were no living enemies, except a few well hidden snipers, but there were corpses everywhere, 5,000 or more, rotting in the tropical sun. Sherrod counted group after group methodically. "Nearby there are a dozen half-Japs whose life had been flicked away by a flame thrower. . . . A little further on, there are fifty more dead Japs—they seem to be thicker on this end of the island." And so he continues, almost as if he were taking inventory in a slaughterhouse. "Scattered around a big blockhouse and what apparently had been a power plant there are at least 150 more who had been hit by a variety of weapons: some are charred, others have their heads blown off, others are only chests or trunks. Only one of them appears to be a suicide." Elsewhere Sherrod saw dozens of Japanese who had shot themselves with their own rifles or blown themselves to pieces with hand grenades. He looked at them coldly and thought they had lost their nerve. But this question of Japanese suicides is more puzzling than Sherrod supposes and I might come back to it next week.

Before setting out for North Africa, John Gunther says that he planned to write "a simple, concrete, personal record of what I saw, nothing more, but nothing less." He also says that he was a little timid about the difficulties of this undertaking. As a political reporter he had rarely used the first person singular; and he may have feared that people would now regard him as conceited or self-centered. But, if you stop to reflect, the "I" of a strictly personal narrative has a different value from the "I" of the man who purports to offer a general discussion of political or military events; in the latter case, the author is pushing himself into the foreground of a picture in which he doesn't belong. The "I" of a personal record is merely and modestly an observer. He seems to be saying, "This war is too vast for one man to present an adequate picture of it. But here is what you might have seen and heard if you were standing in my shoes."

A real difficulty of the personal record is that it tempts the author into setting down his disconnected observations on one subject after another. But unity can be imposed on the book through the mere fact of residence in a certain place during a definite period of time: this is a saving feature of

[1] Wingate's Raiders, by Charles J. Rolo. New York: The Viking Press. 197 pages. $2.50.

[1] Tarawa: The Story of a Battle, by Robert Sherrod. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 189 pages. $2.

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"Berlin Diary" and "Twelve Months That Changed the World," not to mention a dozen similar volumes. "D-Day," [1] however, is like a picture without a frame. The book has sixteen chapters and only eight of them (III to X, inclusive) deal with the events that immediately preceded or followed the invasion of Sicily. The other eight chapters tell how the author traveled from New York to Malta; then from Malta to Cairo, Ankara and Istanbul; then back to New York by way of the Gold Coast and Ascension Island. The journey wasn't planned in advance, and it makes the book seem a little aimless.

And there is another weakness in this personal narrative. John Gunther is one of the best reporters we have, with a tremendous curiosity about how things work and a tremendous liking for people. They like him in return, and even the commanding generals talk frankly to him, knowing that he won't betray their confidence. He has become, for my taste, a shade too discreet; but he has the good reporter's gift for making everything that happens around him seem interesting. The things that happen inside him must be interesting too, but he seems to have lost the habit of talking about them. The result is that his travel diary becomes in places a mere record of the people he met—always notables—and the subjects they discussed over luncheon. "Much talk about the Russians and the Poles," he notes; but he doesn't bother to tell us what was said. One of his entries is as exasperating as anything I have read in months. After listing the important figures with whom he lunched and dined one day in Istanbul, he says:

> Interesting experience late tonight. I had a two-hour talk with the young German who is chief of the "American" section of the Gestapo. We met way out in the wilderness somewhere. I think he wanted to "give," that is, sell out, and he thought I might be useful as an intermediary.

But how did they meet and exactly where? What did the German say? How did he hint that he was willing to sell out his government? What did Gunther answer? If he wants to write a personal narrative, why for heaven's sake doesn't he make it personal? MALCOLM COWLEY

The Negro: America's Dilemma

An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, by Gunnar Myrdal. New York: Harper and Brothers. Two volumes; 2,188 pages. $7.50.

IN A STUDY OF the American Negro problem there is constant danger of following a cold trail to a politico-rational dead-end or of fetching up in an ecological stalemate like White Supremacy or Race Purity. Unlike other social problems of near-equal magnitude, the race problem in America is not specifically related to "social trends." It is only in part related to graphs and charts and the statistical vines which root in so much of our social thinking. Where once it was taken for granted, even by such thinkers as Reuter, Hrdlicka and Sumner, that statistics told the whole story, we now have learned that the statistics are mere chapter headings in a story so complex and so intricately interwoven into all that America is that the unfolding of it is no less than the unfolding, layer by teeming layer, of the American mind. In the last twenty years, social scientists and social-minded writers have hinted at this. The most rewarding of the recent studies are based on this postulate.

But it has taken a European scholar, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, to start the long story of the race problem from the basic, stated assumption that "the American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American." The assumption is no untested thesis. It is an assumption from facts, and it represents the "true knowledge" arrived at after nearly five years of scientific study of most of the available material. That the facts are authentic and the study of the highest caliber seem no matters for question to anyone who is familiar with the literature of American sociology and with the reputation of Gunnar Myrdal. In one capacity or another, such names as Boas, Frazier, Odum, Park and DuBois are linked with the study. The facts are mountain-high and some of them in themselves so revealing that they have been published in separate volumes. The gathering of these facts was a job of collaboration; the analysis, the synthesis and the final interpretation of them were Dr. Myrdal's job. "An American Dilemma" is the end result.

For the last three-quarters of a century the Negro problem has not been what it has been avowed to be. It is not altogether susceptible of scientific or technical solution. The glorification of the scientific attitude after 1875 and the success of the application of scientific methods to other problems misled social thinkers. The application of these methods to the race problem was the excuse for much serious nonsense, for in the South much effort was spent to justify scientifically the place in which the Negro was held in American life. The "scientific" and rationalistic documents that grew out of this effort were legend. The social scientists "reached their views . . . guided by a set of general assumptions in their selection and interpretation of the empirical data." The result of these studies was confusion confounded by opportunism. The American deed ran contrary to the American creed. It was not only important to prove the Negro inferior (the morbidity and mortality rates, the crime indexes were the evidence); it was equally important to believe with William Sumner that nothing could be done about cultural inferiority. "It is the greatest folly of which man can be capable, to sit down with a slate and pencil to plan out a new social world." W. I. Thomas had not yet published his "Sourcebook for Social Origins," and W. E. B. DuBois was just beginning those studies at Atlanta University that promised so much for the future.

The potentials of that future did not begin to be realized until after the racial crises that marked the end of the First World War. The war destroyed many illusions, among them the comfortable one that the Negro problem was a wholly Southern problem. The great Negro migration northward continued into the twenties, and areas which had had no race problem were suddenly faced with one—with the mask of simplicity torn away. Laissez-faire was outmoded. Opportune accommodation was not enough. Promises and threats were not enough. Unrest among Negroes had risen to dam-smashing levels, for "urbanization and mobility are inimical to the traditionally peaceful and innocent accommodation of rural Southern Negroes." Moreover, the blazoned slogans of the war "made the whites place a higher value on democracy." All this was

[1] D-Day, by John Gunther. New York: Harper and Brothers. 276 pages. $3.

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potential good. Whereas most of the earlier studies of the Negro problem had been conducted in the South for the South under the influence of the South's pattern of racial thinking, now the North had reason to be interested. Park, Burgess, Boas, Reuter inspired new research, put forth new points of view. Thinkers led the way directly to a clarifying revitalization of the American creed. This revitalization of the American creed is one horn of the dilemma.

But in general the American deed remained what it had been—keeping the Negro in his place in the South, general indifference in the North. Scientific study had settled nothing. Men knew now—even intelligent Southern men—that Negro inferiority was a myth. They knew that to relate the Negro problem to its background in the ethos made that problem amenable to alleviating change. But they pretended not to know. Ignorance was convenient. It excused the American deed. It hid the other horn of the dilemma so effectively that America did not know she was in a dilemma. The other horn is moralistic.

Once, notably from the 1830's down to the Civil War, men argued the Negro question on strictly moral grounds. Slavery was right or wrong. For every Thomas Cooper and Thomas Dew in the South there was a Henry Beecher and a William Garrison in the North. They canceled each other out. The moral argument was won for the North in the Civil War. It was won for the South in the defeat of Reconstruction. By the last decade of the century the ideological bastions were no longer seriously assailed. The North shrugged its shoulders and went on consoling itself "by comparing the favorable treatment of Negroes in the North with that of the South." The South also shrugged its shoulders, meanwhile asserting right and left that the Negro was doomed both socially and physically, one because of the other. By the turn of the century there was a comfortable stalemate on the moral issues. That stalemate has not been ended until now.

But with Gunnar Myrdal's book soberly plugging away at the issues and exposing the facts, there can no longer be a stalemate. As a scholar, Dr. Myrdal is heavily balanced on the side of comprehensive morality. As a European, he has no American sensibilities to protect. He hits hard with fact and he hits hard with interpretation. In this time of momentous redefinition and change, "America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity." It is a moral choice, and it is "fateful not only for America itself but for all mankind." Either the American creed must prevail and the world sustain its hope in democracy, or the American deed must prevail and the faith in human goodness be destroyed. There is nothing else to choose. *The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American.*

J. SAUNDERS REDDING

Failure of a Mission

News of the Nation: A Newspaper History of the United States, by Sylvan Hoffman and C. Hartley Grattan. Garden City, N. Y.: Garden City Publishing Company. 164 pages. $3.49.

TWO OF THE MOST IMPORTANT problems that face American educators and historians are how to bring to a large audience the basic facts of our history and how to bring to bear the lessons of history, if lessons there be, upon our present malaise. What are the techniques that can be employed with some hope of success to reach that audience, drugged and bedazzled as it supposedly is by movies that don't move, a radio geared to a pre-adolescent mentality, magazines that digest the predigested and record the simpler facts of political life through "photo-essays" and a press whose chief contribution in the last ten years has been the comic strip that isn't funny?

Despite the praises of Time (a case of the pot calling the kettle white) and Charles A. Beard—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—the most that I can find to say for "News of the Nation" is that it has faced the problems squarely and sought boldly for the technical solutions. But the regrettable answer has been something like the lowest common denominator, the format, treatment and almost the style of The New York Daily News (if not, happily, Captain Patterson's editorial policy). Thus the first "number" of this "newspaper history of the United States" screams in 48-point Gothic Bold "COLUMBUS' DISCOVERY ROCKS CONTINENT," and editorializes, "The Voyage Will Pay Dividends." This is fun for a while, just as a Variety account of Shakespeare is, or Time interpreting Eliot or Gide to busy young executives. But long before No. 41 ("CONGRESS DECLARES WAR AFTER JAPAN LAUNCHES SNEAK ATTACK IN PACIFIC"), it is as tiresome and far less rewarding than the average one-volume college text written in academese. The pity is that the level of information in "News of the Nation" is higher than that in all but a few of the conventional short histories. No

politics

In the March issue:

The Coming Tragedy of American Labor
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The Soviet Union: a New Class Society
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other history of comparable length includes as much social and cultural material sensibly balancing the older emphasis on political and military affairs. But the arts are largely relegated to a series of gossip columns, and significant inventions, reforms, fashions and the like are noticed, but rarely analyzed in haphazard news items. As a reference book its value is greatly reduced by the absence of an index, which takes high rank in any calendar of sins.

In fairness to the authors it cannot be said too often that the problem facing them has been extraordinarily difficult of solution. Only the genius (I use the word advisedly) of H. G. Wells in attacking a larger subject, but possibly one more susceptible to fruitful treatment, has succeeded in reducing with remarkably little qualitative diminution the vast, intractable area of human history. Successive generations of recent American historians, with one exception, have avoided or bungled the job of popularizing our own national experience. We must return to an earlier age—to Prescott and Parkman in particular—for history that is thoroughly informed and enormously readable. But there is a historian, or rather two historians, in our time whose "Rise of American Civilization" is not only the best short history of the United States, but also, to the credit of thousands of Americans, among the most popular. Anyone incapable of reading it had best be left with his ears glued to the soap opera, eyes fastened to the technicolored nonworld of Hollywood, thumbs (all four of them) rapidly flicking the photo-filled records of up-to-the-minute history.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

Under the Iron Heel

Belgium in Bondage, by Jan-Albert Goris. New York: L. B. Fischer. 259 pages. $2.75
The White Brigade, by Robert Goffin. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 199 pages. $2.
The Lion Rampant, by L. de Jong and Joseph W. F. Stoppelman. New York: Querido. 386 pages. $3.

SOME PEOPLE, sincere internationalists, are greatly worried about the wave of nationalism that is sweeping through Europe in the wake of war. Is this new nationalism really comparable to or even identical with its ancestor in the days of the emergence of the modern nation-state? These three books indicate that the new nationalism is tempered by the recognition that it can never achieve its purpose of liberation without outside assistance.

Opposition to the Nazis in Holland and Belgium did not really get under way until England's inspiring resistance to the Nazi blitz had convinced people that there was a promise for the future in defying the conqueror now. England gave the Dutch and Belgians that hope without which their struggle might have seemed futile. Gratitude, if not power politics, will tie them to England, just as the heroic resistance of the Red Army has caused the great popularity of the Soviet Union in the Balkan countries. The Dutch and Belgian peoples seem to know that their future security cannot be based on rampant nationalism and deceptive neutrality, but must rely on the protecting hand of Great Britain.

There is another aspect of the war of liberation in the Lowlands which sharply distinguishes it from the popular

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struggles going on in France, Italy and the Balkans. It is the essentially conservative ideology underlying the resistence movements in the two countries. The reason, of course, is that prewar Belgium and Holland were among the politically and socially most advanced nations of the Continent. The tradition of law and constitutionalism was strong. It is in the name of constitutionalism and international law that the Belgians and Dutch resist the Nazis. Allegiance to their governments-in-exile is as firm as ever. What they want is the reëstablishment of their constitutional liberties and the restitution of the high prewar standard of living and progressive social legislation.

Goris' book is written in the best tradition of European feuilletonism. It fuses anger with learning, indignation with wit. Goffin's autobiographical, semi-fictional and semi-factual report of Belgium's organized underground makes thrilling reading. De Jong's and Stoppelman's account of the Netherlands under the Nazi yoke is ponderous, though informative.

While the Belgian and Dutch and all the other conquered peoples continue to suffer under the Nazi heel, we in America have little idea of what life in the Nazi-ruled nations is like. For this reason alone these books should be widely read. They will make us less grandiloquent and more modest about our own contribution to the defeat of the Nazi beast.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Why Is Congress?

You and Your Congress, by Volta Torrey. New York: William Morrow and Company. 280 pages. $3.

THIS IS AN A, B, C case study of what Congress is and how it got that way. I don't know any bigger domestic subject at this time.

Congress is the result of a patchwork, crazy-quilt of big and little states, big and little districts, gerrymandered bailiwicks and millions and millions of disenfranchised voters. After contemplating the system as a whole you wonder that it works at all. Rep. Gene Cox retained his poll-tax seat in 1942 by winning an election in which only 3,794 persons in the Second Georgia District (total population: 273,000) voted. Only one vote was cast against Mr. Cox, so 3,791 persons wasted their time. He needed two votes. On the other hand, Miss Winifred Stanley (R) of New York needed nearly 2,000,000 votes to win her seat in Congress right across from Mr. Cox.

The situation is just as paradoxical in the Senate. Take the requirement, for instance, that treaties need a two-thirds vote for ratification. Only 40,000 votes were cast in the last Nevada election, compared to 6,500,000 in New York. That means that "32-plus-1" Senators from the smallest states can beat the best peace treaty Mr. Roosevelt brings in, if they see fit. The mathematics of it is that Senators representing one-twelfth of the American people could thwart the will of the rest of the nation.

Mr. Torrey has written a sprightly, documented, conscientious handbook that is aimed primarily at the election just ahead. His book should be a godsend to study clubs. And the gist of the whole 1944 election problem may be packed inside it. Mr. Torrey points out how the distribution of a few votes in the right places can sway the ancient seesaw of our election machinery. For example, the Republicans got over a million votes more than the Democrats in 1942, but came out with 17 seats less in the lower house. Afterwards they estimated that 5,000 more votes in the right places would have given them House control and made Ham Fish, among other things, chairman of the Rules Committee.

In the 1944 election the problem is this: Mr. Roosevelt's two biggest supporting groups have been youth and labor. But youth is away in the army and labor is scattered all over the map in states where it may take months, a year, or several years, to register. Ignoring all other problems, can Mr. Roosevelt, if he runs, overcome this purely mechanical hurdle? The people with the votes in 1944 may be the stay-at-homes, "the elderly and fairly well off portion of the population, not subject to draft nor able to rush off to war plants."

Mr. Torrey's book is highly personalized. He gives case histories of congressmen and how they got to Washington; of Ohio osteopath Frederick C. Smith from the old Harding district, who denounced the recent Hot Springs food conference as "diabolical"; of hillbilly Dewey Short (R) of Missouri who studied at Harvard, Oxford and Heidelberg; of oldtimer Rep. Harold Knutson (R) of Minnesota, who voted against the First World War, charged Hull with provoking this war with Japan and will be chairman of the Tax Committee if the Republicans come to power. Also of Ham Fish, who used Communists to such advantage. The Communists, Mr. Torrey thinks, have been a lot of help to a lot of congressmen; it is, perhaps, their chief political contribution.

RICHARD LEE STROUT

Memoir of the Old France

Home Is the Hunter, by Gontran de Poncins. Translated by Haakon Chevalier. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 271 pages. $2.50.

"HOME IS THE HUNTER" is less a novel than the reminiscences of an old man, Jean Menadieu, who in the space of five days relives his fifty years' service in the d'Ombres family by recounting the life and death of three of its members.

It is an account of a society in transition from semi-feudalism to democracy. The setting is the chateau d'Ombres in the Loire country after the First World War. Paternalism, the old order, is breaking down through improved communications and the diffusion of liberal ideas, and Jean realizes that his conception of himself as a faithful, humble servant is no longer respected or valued. The mores which once held the society together, which established the traditional class and personal relations, are now insufficient. These conflicts are unresolved: the old die sighing, the young rebelling.

The first half of the book is perhaps too leisurely in pace, but it is offset by a sheer elegance of imagery, an almost sensuous style which animates the entire Loire landscape. The last part reaches a powerful climax in the death of Monsieur Georges, a dipsomaniac grandson. Smells, sounds and visions torment the dying man, and as a final mad

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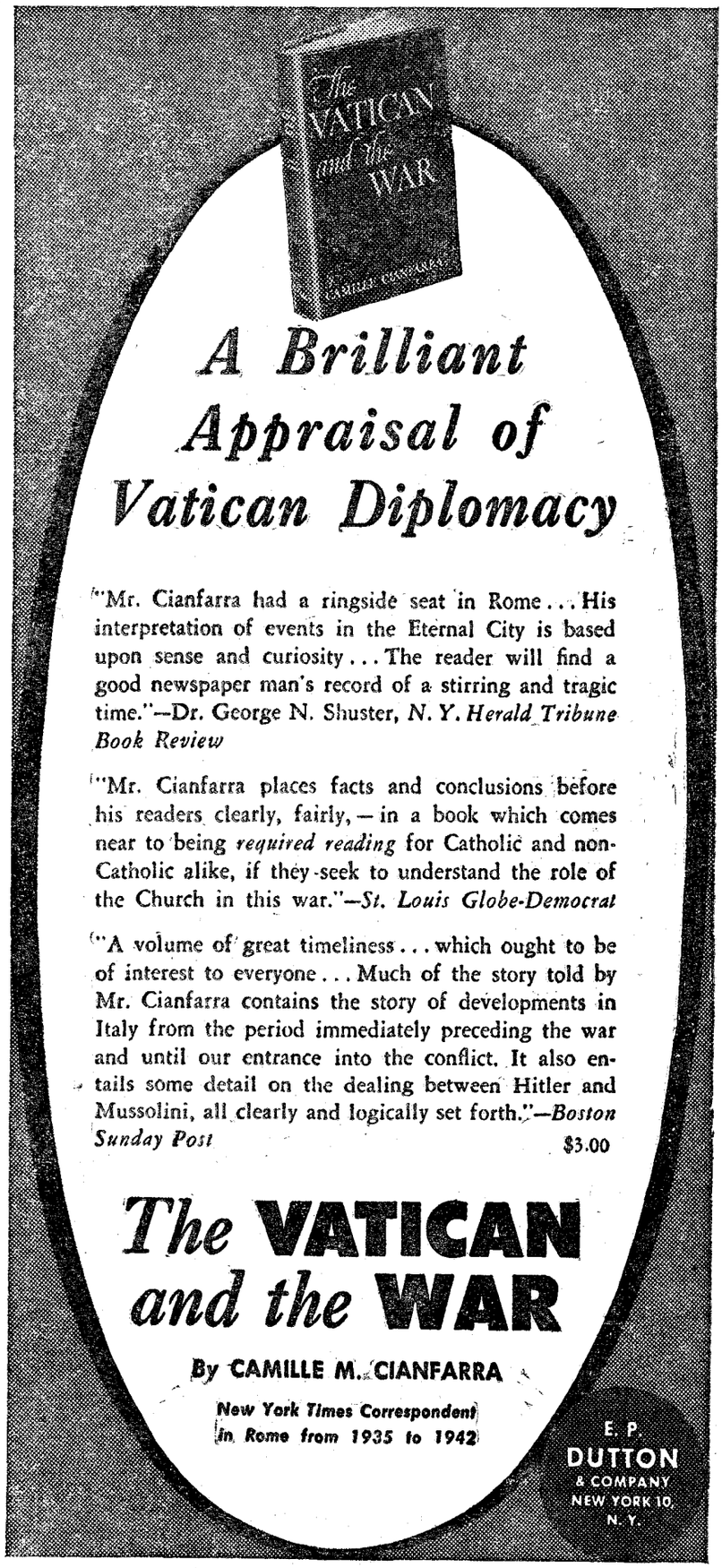
stroke, he attacks Jean, who emerges from the hand-to-hand struggle believing that he has killed his young master.

Superficially one might think that de Poncins had written a defense of the old French aristocracy by symbolizing its virtues in an old man who yearned for the past and found peace and satisfaction in his servitude, or in terms of a stable society where relationships are well defined. But "Home Is the Hunter" is not a plea for semi-feudalism. De Poncins has, rather, delineated a weakness in our society in that it does not guarantee to each individual the status due him as a human being, that it does not give him the emotional security which comes from finding satisfaction in his everyday living. Furthermore, through the d'Ombres family, he indicates the great danger of paternalism: namely, the happiness of the individual depends not so much on his own values as on the way of life of his *patron*. VASILIKI SARANT

A Reader's List

PLANNING NO. 217: DEMOBILIZATION AND EMPLOYMENT (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 25 cents). The mustered-out British servicemen will not be reduced to selling apples on the street corners of London because for years following the end of hostilities their country will experience a labor shortage, say the editors of this pamphlet. Assuming that Great Britain will join the United States in prosecuting the war against Japan after Germany falls, they predict a continued "sellers' market," with the great demand for civilian supplies, capital goods, foreign relief and export commodities perhaps requiring that industrial mobilization be carried over into the final peace. PEP advances the reasonable suggestion that men be demobilized from the army according to a "point system," with age and length of service being honored equally in determining who gets out first. The problems of human reconversion are considered, with due emphasis given to psychological tools like adequate advisory services which will help to ease the returned servicemen back into a civilian frame of mind.

POSTWAR PLANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, by Lewis L.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"Mr. Cianfarra places facts and conclusions before his readers clearly, fairly, — in a book which comes near to being required reading for Catholic and non-Catholic alike, if they seek to understand the role of the Church in this war."—St. Louis Globe-Democrat
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$3.00
The VATICAN and the WAR
By CAMILLE M. CIANFARRA
New York Times Correspondent in Rome from 1935 to 1942
E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Lorwin (Twentieth Century Fund, $2.50). This is a factual report on plans prepared by governmental and private organizations in the United Nations, including the governments-in-exile, for postwar reconstruction in the respective countries. All of these countries, the report states, have in common the postwar aim to "improve the economic and social condition of the mass of the people. In the advanced industrial countries, especially in the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations and Western Europe . . . emphasis is on 'full employment' and 'social security.' The Soviet Union and the industrially less developed countries, *e. g.*, Latin America, India and China, stress the idea of 'higher living standards' through more production and greater productivity." The chief limitation of current postwar plans, it is pointed out, "are the conflicting elements in the proposals of the different countries and their lack of coöperation with plans for international economic and social organization."

SHIPYARD DIARY OF A WOMAN WELDER, by Augusta H. Clawson (Penguin, 25 cents). An ex-schoolma'am learns, in eight days, to lay a mighty pretty stringer of beads, from double bottom to coffer-dam, in an Oregon shipyard. Miss Clawson was out to find, for the United States Department of Education, why many women quit war jobs soon after they are hired. This she learned, and a lot of other things besides: about blonde trouble, likewise brunette trouble; about human cussedness and human decency and heroism of the workaday sort. Every shop foreman with women working under him, every personnel counselor, should curl up with this little book at the first opportunity.

A Correction

Lucille B. Milner writes: "Due to an error which I regret, credit was not given to Ruth Danenhower Wilson for some of the factual material in my article entitled 'Jim Crow in the Army, in The New Republic of March 13."

Contributors

CHARLES EDISON, ex-Governor of New Jersey and former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, is chairman of United China Relief, Inc., and honorary president of the United States Navy League. He is president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc.

MARIE DE L. WELCH is a well known California poet and the wife of the late George P. West. She has contributed verse to magazines both here and abroad and is the author of several books of poetry.

TERRY MORRIS is a former New York City school teacher who left her New Rochelle home more than a year ago to live near her husband's army post. Since then she has lived in four army towns and has worked as a newspaper reporter and feature writer.

JOHN V. KELLEHER is a Junior Fellow of the Society of Fellows, Harvard University. His field is modern Irish history and literature, and last fall he gave a course of Lowell Lectures on "Irish Literature Since the Revolution."

J. SAUNDERS REDDING, whose book, "No Day of Triumph," recently won the Mayflower Award, is also the author of "To Make a Poet Black," and of articles in The Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, The American Mercury, etc. He is a member of the English faculty at Hampton Institute and is working on another book.

RICHARD LEE STROUT is a Washington correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor.

VASILIKI SARANT is a member of the editorial staff of The New Republic.

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A CORRECTION

The advertisement which appeared in last week's issue (March 13th) on

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by S. GREINER

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